The Outlook

Volume 84 *Saturday, September 1, 1906* *Number 1*

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THE OUTLOOK is a Weekly Newspaper and an Illustrated Monthly Magazine in one. It is published every Saturday—fifty-two issues a year. The fourth issue in each month is an Illustrated Magazine Number, containing about twice as many pages as the regular weekly issue, and many pictures.

PRICE.—The subscription price is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.

POSTAGE IS PREPAID by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 for postage.

CHANGE OF ADDRESS —When a change of address is ordered, both the new and the old address must be given. The notice should be sent one week before the change is to take effect.

DISCONTINUANCES.—If a subscriber wishes his copy of The Outlook discontinued at the expiration of his subscription, notice to that effect should be sent. Otherwise it is assumed that a continuance of the subscription is desired.

HOW TO REMIT.—Remittances should be sent by Draft on New York, Express-Order, or Money-Order, payable to order of THE OUTLOOK COMPANY. Cash should be sent in Registered Letter.

LETTERS should be addressed:

THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
287 Fourth Avenue, New York

Chicago Office, 1436 Marquette Building

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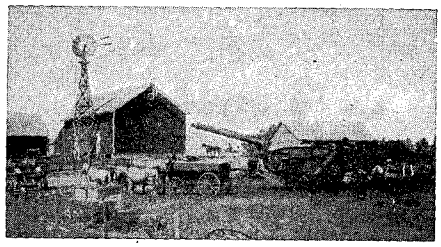

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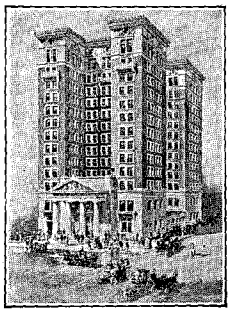

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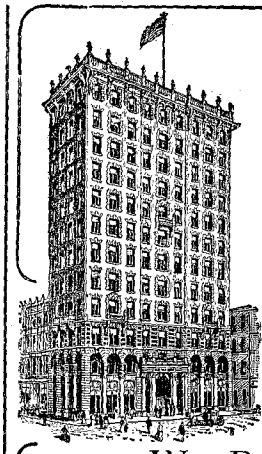

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1906

❀

Mr. Roosevelt's Platform for 1906

An indication of the popularity of Mr. Roosevelt with his own party is furnished by the fact that the party leaders have asked him to outline the issues of the Congressional campaign, and he has done so in a letter which the country has a right to accept as the Republican platform for 1906. He praises the work of Congress in its past session, and indicates certain results which he hopes it will bring to completion next winter. Among them are the bills to prohibit political contributions by corporations, to lower the duties on imports from the Philippine Islands, to limit the hours of employment of railway employees, to provide for securing to wage-workers under the Government half-holidays during the summer months as they are now secured for salaried clerical workers. He urges the vigorous prosecution of work upon the Panama Canal, a navy strong enough to maintain the Monroe Doctrine, and a continuance of legislative and executive action adapted to control corporate wealth in inter-State business without bringing upon the country disturbance of business conditions which would be disastrous alike to all classes. There is little, we are inclined to think nothing, either in his praise of Congress for its past action or his suggestion for action for the future, that would furnish any opportunity for Democratic criticism or assaults, but he opens the way for such criticism by his views on the protective policy. "We stand," he says, "unequivocally for a protective tariff, and we feel that the phenomenal industrial prosperity which we are now enjoying is not likely to be jeopardized." He concedes that changes in special schedules are legitimate when they can be made "without too much local dislocation of the system," and avers that "a general revision of the rates and schedules will be undertaken whenever it shall appear to the sober business sense of our people that, on the whole, . . . the revision would do more good than harm." But he denies that the revision of the tariff has anything to do with the control of monopolies.

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The Tariff Issue

This paragraph of the President's letter is the only one with which The Outlook is inclined to take issue. We believe, and we hope that an increasing number of Americans are coming to believe, that the protective system as embodied in the Dingley tariff produces moral disadvantages which far outweigh any industrial benefits which it may confer. It ought at least to be amended in two important particulars. First: Whenever American manufactured products are habitually sold more cheaply abroad than at home, the tariff on foreign-made goods which compete with them should be abolished or reduced. Such a tariff protects the manufacturer at the expense of the consumer, and is certainly special legislation. Second: A comprehensive reciprocity system should be organized under which the tariff should be lowered or repealed whenever it is operating to prevent a commercial interchange which otherwise might be promoted. In every such case the protective system is protecting manufactures at the expense of commerce, and this also is special legislation. Whatever may be said for the protective principle, wherever it is so applied as to promote one interest at the expense of another it is special legislation, and that is always vicious. The speech of Mr. Cannon in Illinois and the letter of President Roosevelt both indicate a possible issue to the Democratic leaders. Have they faith enough in tariff revision

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to defend it explicitly and demand it definitely and courageously?

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Mr. Root and the Drago Doctrine

We hesitate to comment on or even to circulate the reports of Secretary Root's speech at Buenos Ayres last week. Our readers may be very sure that whatever Mr. Root said respecting the so-called Drago Doctrine was well considered and very carefully worded. In the declaration of a Secretary of State on such a subject a great deal depends upon the exact language employed, and an abstract furnished by a reporter and transmitted by a cable may very easily misrepresent him. He is reported as saying that "the United States had never employed, and never would employ, her army or navy for the collection of debts contracted by governments or private individuals." If he said this, he committed the country to the Drago Doctrine in its entirety. We should be glad to see this country committed to that doctrine in its entirety; we should be glad to see the United States formally taking the attitude that any citizen who engages in trade in another country must depend upon the laws of that country for the enforcement of all commercial obligations, and that any citizen who buys the bonds issued by another country must depend upon the honor of that country for the payment of the bonds. But we are not aware that the United States has ever taken this ground formally and officially, and we very much doubt that Secretary Root has taken it for the country in the form and manner in which he is reported by the cable despatches to have done so. What he probably has done is to affirm that the United States never has undertaken to enforce the payment of such debts to any of its citizens by means of war measures, and that it would co-operate with the South American Republics in submitting to the next Hague Conference for its consideration the question whether the collection of debts should ever be made a war measure. The Outlook hopes that the question may be presented to that Conference, and it would be glad to see that Conference thereupon adopt the Drago Doctrine as fully as Mr. Root is represented by the despatches to have adopted it.

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Mr. Jerome's Candidacy

Mr. William Travers Jerome, in answer to appeals from leading citizens to accept a nomination for Governor of New York State, has given out the following statement:

> In the present shameful condition of our political life in this State I am willing to run for the office of Governor of this State if the Democratic Convention shall nominate me without any understanding, expressed or implied, other than that if elected I shall obey my oath of office as I understand it, in letter and spirit.
>
> WILLIAM TRAVERS JEROME.

Mr. Jerome has been a most efficient and capable District Attorney. He has shown wisdom in his refusals to prosecute in response to popular prejudice, as well as great courage and capacity in his prosecution of men who had both wealth and political influence to protect them. He is not only honest, but fighting honest. He possesses the virtue not too common in political circles of abhorring that which is evil. If he were elected Governor, few rascals in public service would escape his detection, and none who were detected would retain their place. How he would get along with the Legislature is uncertain. He is by temperament and training imperious rather than persuasive, and is more apt to resent counsel than to welcome it. If he were nominated, he would be a popular candidate with the masses of the people. If he were elected, he would be to the political bosses a wholly impracticable Governor. It looks now as though the choice before the Democratic Convention would be narrowed to one between Mr. Jerome and Mr. Hearst, and as though Mr. Hearst would have the support perhaps of Tammany, certainly of the Tammany type of politicians throughout the State. In case Mr. Hearst should secure the nomination—and he is evidently eager for it—we hope that Mr. Jerome will run for Governor on petition, as he ran for District Attorney. Whether he runs as a regular Democratic candidate or as an Independent, he has made

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it perfectly clear that he means to make a vigorous campaign against bosses and bossism in both parties.

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The Election in Georgia

In Georgia, as in many other Southern States, the primary election is the only real election: there is no party to contest the supremacy of the Democrats. Therefore the only real issues are those between different factions in the Democratic party, and these are fought out at the primary election. In such an election, just held in Georgia, the contest between Mr. Hoke Smith and Mr. Clark Howell ended in an overwhelming victory for Mr. Hoke Smith. It is claimed by the latter's friends to be the greatest popular victory in Georgia that this generation has known. But the campaign is also stigmatized by the Charleston (South Carolina) "News and Courier" in the following strong language: "There is no language of censure too strong that could be used to characterize the vileness of the fight that has been made between these two leading men of Georgia. We do not know how they will get away from the mire and filth of the struggle through which they have passed." Under these conditions The Outlook can hardly expect its account of the campaign to be satisfactory to either of the parties. As we understand it, two principal issues were involved—the railway and the race issue. Mr. Hoke Smith was supposed to represent a demand for a formal disfranchisement of the negro by the passage of a constitutional amendment analogous to the amendments already passed by six of the Southern States disfranchising the ignorant negro voter, with the same temporary exceptions in favor of the illiterate white voter. But there was no opposing movement for the enfranchisement of the negro. Under the present system, as the negro does not vote in the Democratic primaries, he is effectively disfranchised in Georgia, and to the Clark Howell faction that was sufficient. We judge that a more influential cause of Mr. Hoke Smith's victory was his attitude on the railway issue. Thomas E. Watson, the well-known leader of the Populist party in Georgia, united his forces with those of Hoke Smith, and the campaign was conducted avowedly as one against a railway domination of the State. In this respect it resembled the campaign of La Follette in Wisconsin and of Churchill in New Hampshire. Whatever the cause of the victory, we think it is safe to assume that it will not materially affect the present status of the negro in Georgia either for the better or the worse, and that it will materially affect the influence of the railways in Georgia politics. The victory of Mr. Smith is a victory for the modern Populistic Democracy over the old-fashioned Democracy of the Old South.

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The Platform of the Niagara Movement

The second annual meeting of the so-called Niagara Movement was held recently at Harper's Ferry. This is a movement of negroes for negro rights. It represents the more political and the more assertive spirit in the negro race, under the leadership of Dr. Du Bois, as the Tuskegee Movement under the leadership of Dr. Washington represents the more industrial and the more pacific spirit. It is probably not unjust to say that something of the quality of the Niagara Movement is indicated by the fact that its leaders chose this year Harper's Ferry for its place of assemblage, and in its closing utterance the assembly declared, "Here, on the scene of John Brown's Martyrdom, we reconsecrate ourselves, our honor, our property, to the final emancipation of the race which John Brown died to make free." Its adopted platform comprises five principles: (1) The right to vote: "We want full manhood suffrage, and we want it now, henceforth, and forever." (2) Condemnation of all race discrimination in public accommodations: "Separation in railway and street cars, based simply on race and color, is un-American, undemocratic, and silly." (3) Freedom of social intercourse: "We claim the right of freemen to walk, talk, and be with them that wish to be with us. No man has a right to choose another man's friends, and to attempt to do so is an impudent inter-

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ference with the most fundamental human privilege." (4) Equality in the enforcement of laws: "Justice even for criminals and outlaws;" "Congress to take charge of Congressional elections;" "the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments enforced." (5) "The National Government to step in and wipe out illiteracy in the South;" an undying hostility to "any proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings, or simply for the use of other people."

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The Platform of The Outlook

We can best state our views respecting these demands by putting with them what appear to us to be the just and reasonable bases for the settlement of the so-called race issue. Those bases we should state somewhat as follows: (1) Manhood suffrage, provided the manhood comes first and the suffrage afterwards. The ballot is not a natural right, like the right to the protection of person and property; it is a prerogative to be given only to those, black or white, who have furnished some evidence that they possess the intellectual and moral qualifications to use the ballot for the benefit of the community. But it should be based on personal qualifications, not on race or color. (2) It is better for both races that they have their separate schools and separate churches. It is no more an injustice to the black race than to the white race to provide separate cars for them, if the accommodations are equally good for both races. (3) Social fellowship cannot be restrained by law, neither can it be claimed as a right. In general, the way to secure social recognition is not to demand it. (4) The demand for the equality of law enforcement is wholly just. The demand for Congressional charge of Congressional elections is wholly unnecessary. Congress has already charge of Congressional elections. It has the right to reject any Representative on evidence that his election has been accomplished by corruption, fraud, violence, or threatening of any description, and it ought to exercise this right far more vigorously than it has been accustomed to do. (5) We want the National Government to "wipe out illiteracy in the South," and we protest against any "proposal to educate black boys and girls simply as servants and underlings;" but we also affirm as a truth of universal applicability that the end of all education should be to fit the pupil for the work which it is probable he will have to do, for the service which he will probably have to render. We add the demand for the open door of industrial opportunity to all men, black and white, and insistence upon the principle that every man shall fit himself, as his first duty to the community, to render the best service of which, taking account of his training and his inheritance, he is capable. On the whole, we think the Niagara Movement would be more useful if it demanded more of the negro race and put less emphasis on its demands for the negro race.

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Murder as a Political Weapon in Russia

The attempt on Saturday last to assassinate Mr. Stolypin, Russia's Prime Minister, with the result that many people against whom the terrorists had no designs were killed, and the actual assassination on Sunday of General Min, and on Monday of General Vonliarliarski, the acting military Governor-General of Warsaw, are only the most serious incidents of a campaign of destruction deliberately undertaken by the secret fighting force, sometimes called the flying division, of the terrorist wing of the Social Democrats. A list of acts of violence and attempts at violence committed by revolutionists within the past few weeks might be made to fill several columns of The Outlook. Not only have the most prominent figures in the autocratic group been attacked (as in these recent tragedies and the recent firing at the Grand Duke Nicholas by his own soldiers during a review), but spies, policemen, and minor officials have been murdered, wounded, or beaten in many places and all over Russia. This deliberate determination of the violent revolutionists to fight repression with assassination is deplored by all the moderate forces of Russia, both as a matter of principle and for political

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policy. Anarchy and murder are at least as bad as that other form of lawlessness, autocratic oppression. Russia's hope is in the growth of a preponderating body of citizens who will stand for constitutional, representative government and maintain the rights of the individual to freedom and security alike from the ukase of the bureaucrat and the weapon of the assassin. The fact that acts like those of last Saturday, Sunday, and Monday mean more than simply murder is shown in such utterances as the following, which we find in a cable despatch to the New York "Sun:"

It remains, however, that the most actual impression of the entire tragedy is the sense that the Russians regard it as an act of civil war. There is a formidable element in educated society which insists on comparing it to the throwing of a shell into a beleaguered citadel. They declare that the Government press has taken for its cry, "Who is not with us is against us," and they explain the fearful mercilessness of yesterday's outrage by referring to the executionary expeditions which visited wholesale punishment along the railway where Government employees had struck.

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Desperate Assassins

So carefully planned and so totally oblivious of what might happen to the assassins was the attack on Mr. Stolypin that his escape was a marvel. He was holding a reception at his country house on Aptekarsky Island, and the rooms were crowded when the four conspirators, three dressed as gendarmes and the fourth in civilian costume, drove boldly to the house in a carriage. According to some accounts the police supposed that the gendarmes were bringing a political prisoner who had been allowed to appeal to Mr. Stolypin's sympathy; others say that they were supposed to be coming to do police duty at the house. At all events, their real purpose was unsuspected, and they approached near enough to allow them to throw a heavy and terribly destructive bomb through a bay window into the villa—or, as another story asserts, one of the men actually entered the hall of the villa itself and there threw or dropped the bomb. No more frightfully effective engine of death was ever devised. Mr. Stolypin himself escaped with slight wounds, although the Governor of Penza, Mr. Koshoff, who stood near him, was instantly killed. Altogether some twenty-five persons were killed outright, while others to about the same number, including two of Mr. Stolypin's children, were injured, and some of these have since died. Two of the assassins were killed outright and the other two were wounded and captured. The effect of the explosion was terrific; the house was reduced to a heap of ruins, and trees in the avenue were blown down. The perpetrators of the crime evidently expected to die in its commission. Equally desperate was the murder of General Min, who was shot down while walking in the park of Peterhof Palace by a young woman who fired at him five times with her revolver; a bomb was found concealed in her dress. General Min was an officer in the Imperial Guard, and the revolutionists held him responsible for some of the most ruthless punitive measures undertaken after the last general strike. General Vonliarliarsky had but lately been made Military Governor of Warsaw.

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The Czar and the Land

Meanwhile amid all this anarchy and confusion preparations go forward for the election of members of a new Duma. As the first Duma was irrepressibly radical, despite the efforts of the Government to dominate it, the necessity of some direct appeal to the people for favor has become evident even to the Czar. The peasant element is the one most likely to be influenced as compared with the industrial and educated class, and as the peasants' complaints have naturally centered about the land question, the Czar has hastened to declare his plan for agrarian action. Such action was promised by the ukase dissolving the Duma, and now a definite plan is announced, apparently with official sanction. This is described as follows in the press despatches:

An imperial ukase will be issued, directing the agrarian commission to begin the distribution of 1,800,000 dessiatines (a dessiatine is about 2½ acres) belonging to the appanages, 4,000,000 dessiatines belonging to the crown, and 2,000,000 dessiatines of land offered

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through the Peasants' Bank. Only the forests and lands belonging to the State, the preservation of which is considered necessary for the future agricultural prosperity of the country, will be reserved. The transaction will be financed through the Peasants' Bank. Little cash will be required. The landlords and other sellers will receive marketable land notes, eventually redeemable by the peasant purchasers in installment notes intended to meet the interest and amortization. The Emperor will not give the land of the imperial family, but, like other landlords, he will accept notes.

If this plan is carried out, it will undoubtedly be welcomed as a liberal measure by the peasants, although it does not go the full length they have hoped for. With it, it is said, many special restrictions on the peasant class will be removed. The whole scheme is undoubtedly a bold bid for peasant support against the revolutionists. It remains to be seen whether the Government will actually issue the ukase, and if it does, in view of past decrees issued only to be limited or recalled, it will be well to scrutinize the wording before its effect is judged.

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Insurrection in Cuba

It is difficult to judge at this distance how extensive or serious the rebellion in Cuba may prove to be. The fact that the Cuban Government has placed a large order for arms and ammunition in this country indicates that the revolt is not trifling. It is known that two or three bodies of insurgents are in arms, and to their camps other disaffected persons in the more remote part of Cuba seem to be flocking in considerable numbers. There have long been in eastern Cuba bands of guerrillas and outlaws with which the Rural Guard has had to deal. These outlaws are always ready to join any political revolution, and they in part make up the forces of the insurgents. There have been conflicts between the insurgents under General Guerra and Government forces, but nothing in the way of a general engagement, which both parties seem for the present to avoid. A report that intervention from this country under the terms of the Platt Amendment had been asked for, and a second report that the Cuban Government had asked for the loan of rapid-fire guns from the United States, were promptly contradicted. No doubt our Government is carefully studying the situation, but at present there seems to be no reason to suppose that necessity for intervention is regarded as imminent. So far as the insurgent movement is political in its character, it grows out of the defeat of the Liberals by the Moderates at the last Presidential election. The leaders of the Liberals have continued to assert vehemently that President Palma used his powers unfairly to crush his political opponents; that the latter were in the large majority throughout the island; and that with anything like a fair election they would have won the political fight. One insurgent leader puts this in the following declaration: "We are up in arms because the Government has protected an unscrupulous judiciary, has been guilty of outrages on the Constitution, and has despoiled the people of their rights. We want new elections and freedom in the exercise of the right of suffrage." The Outlook gives these assertions for what they are worth, but it is proper to add that no evidence sufficient to support them has yet been presented. On the other hand, it is urged by the supporters of President Palma that he is a fair-minded and law-abiding man, and that the outbreak is really caused by that regrettable tendency seen in so many Spanish-American republics which impels political aspirants to refuse to accept defeat at the polls and to resort to arms, with or without provocation. At the end of the war with Spain a large number of Cuban officers and soldiers felt that their services had not been sufficiently recognized, and that political control should have fallen to their share. These men eagerly supported Gomez as against Palma in the last election, and have been ready and willing to take up arms against the Government ever since. Gomez himself has been arrested and is held under guard in Havana, but denies any complicity with the insurrection. A friend of Gomez who is in this country asserts that the Palma administration has followed "the idea that is found in Spain, as well as in all the Spanish-speaking countries, that the Government

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which is in control of the administration must hold it at all events, even against the will of the majority." So far as the United States is concerned, the Platt Amendment, which is incorporated in the Cuban Constitution, provides that the United States may intervene "for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the Treaty of Paris on the United States." Nothing is more unlikely than that the United States Government will be precipitate in determining that a crisis calling for intervention has been reached; but it is both proper and desirable that our Government, through the recognized channels, and if necessary through a special commission, should inform itself thoroughly of the actual state of affairs in Cuba.

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The Earthquake in Chile

The destruction by the earthquake in Valparaiso seems to have been nearly as complete as it was in San Francisco. The loss of property is estimated at $200,000,000, and the loss of life at two thousand. The entire population of the city, numbering, together with the people of the suburb of Vina del Mar, two hundred thousand persons, is living out-of-doors in tents and hastily built shacks. Heavy rains which fell last week subjected the campers to the greatest discomfort and danger of illness. The damage to buildings which were not completely destroyed by the shock or the resulting fire seems to have been much greater than in San Francisco; the same condition exists in Santiago, where three thousand houses must be torn down. Martial law prevails in Valparaiso, and all the inhabitants are compelled to do their share in the work of restoring normal conditions in the city. The effect of the earthquake was felt no less severely in the country districts near Valparaiso and Santiago. Several towns are reported as completely destroyed, and not only the homes of estate owners but the humbler dwellings of their employees have suffered extensive damage. The provinces to the north and south which were unharmed by the earthquake are sending provisions and money for the relief of their countrymen. The Chilean Government has appropriated as a first installment $4,000,000 for a relief fund. Among the contributions from outside sources was one of thirty-five thousand dollars from the people of San Francisco.

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The Brotherhood of the Kingdom

The monotonous succession of New York City churches moving uptown was recently broken by one moving up-river. The edifice of Amity Baptist Church in West Fifty-fourth Street needing to be replaced by a more commodious structure, the wooden building, long a rallying point for the Brotherhood of the Kingdom, was transported to Marlborough-on-Hudson, where the Brotherhood has for years held its summer meetings. Here its twelfth annual conference, continuing for nearly a week, has just been held within the familiar walls, now to stand in the future, as in the past, for a memorial of one of the best-loved pastors of a former generation, the Rev. William R. Williams, D.D. The meeting was significant both for the strength of its programme and the widely representative character of the speakers. The leading topics were, "Scripture Apocalypses and Modern Utopias," as illustrating the social ideals of religion; "The Kingdom Doctrine in Relation to Christian Life and Thought," as in the new evangelism, in the doctrinal system of the Church, in the liturgies and ethics of Christianity, and in relation to social reconstruction; and the "Sociological Views of the Great Reformers," from Wiclif to Tolstoy. Four addresses on each of these topics, and half a dozen others, mostly on living questions, constituted the menu of a substantial feast, intellectual and religious. Professors Fagnani, of Union, Faulkner, of Drew, Porter, of Yale, Strong and Rauschenbusch, of Rochester, and Thayer, of Lehigh, nearly twice as many well-known pastors from Massachusetts to Nebraska, the Hon. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, of Philadelphia, and Mr. George T. Powell,

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of Ghent, New York, President of the Agricultural Experts' Association, formed the corps of speakers. Emphasis was laid on the social ideal of the new evangelism as required by the use that Jesus made of it in his appeal to the individual, and on the need of prophets of the ideal to-day as in former times—prophets of reform. Of these, indeed, there now seems to be no lack; their multiplying number is one of the most hopeful signs. The Brotherhood of the Kingdom is a growing "school" of such. Its salient characteristic is the devotional spirit, the religious warmth, that color the social ideal of Christianity which it exists to exalt and to inculcate.

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Spelling Reform

President Roosevelt, it is announced, has issued orders to the Public Printer that all Messages from the President and all other documents coming from the White House shall be printed in accordance with the rules for simplified spelling recommended by the Simplified Spelling Board, of which Professor Brander Matthews, of Columbia College, is the chairman and Mr. Andrew Carnegie the unofficial treasurer. Professor Matthews, it will be remembered, gave the readers of The Outlook an exposition of his views on this subject in an article entitled "The Spelling of Yesterday and of To-morrow" in The Outlook for April 14, 1906. This order of President Roosevelt's will give Government sanction, to a certain extent, to the endeavor to simplify and reconstruct English spelling. It will not, as some have assumed, commit the United States Government, with its immense output of printed matter, to the use of the reformed spelling; for, whatever may be the result of the President's example, at present only documents issuing from the White House will use the simpler spelling. The rules for the modified spelling are summarized by the New York "Sun" as follows:

1. When offered a choice between æ and e, choose e. Examples: Anesthetic, esthetic, medieval.

2. If the choice lies between e and no e in words like abridgment, lodgment, acknowledgment, always omit the e.

3. Use t in place of ed for the past or past participle of verbs ending in s, sh, or p. Examples: Dipt, dript, prest, distrest, husht, washt.

4. Stick to ense in preference to ence when you have a choice. Examples: Defense, offense, pretense.

5. Don't double the t in coquet, epaulet, etiquet, omelet.

6. When you can replace gh with f, do it. Example: Draft.

7. Better still, get rid of gh altogether. For plough write plow. For through write thru.

8. Write the Greek suffix ise or ize with the z by preference. Examples: Catechize, criticize.

9. Where any authority allows it, omit the e in words spelled with ite. Example: Preterit.

10. Use a single l in words like distil, instil, fulfil.

11. And omit one l from words now written like fullness. Example: Dulness.

12. In words sometimes spelled with one and sometimes with a double m, choose the short form. Example: Gram, program.

13. In words spelled with œ or e, choose e. Example: Esophagus.

14. Always omit the u from words sometimes spelled with our. Examples: Labor, rumor.

15. Where you can get any authority, use f in place of ph. Examples: Sulfur, fantasm.

16. In words spelled with a double use a single r; as, bur, pur.

17. Spell theatre, centre, etc., in the English way—center, theater, niter, miter.

18. If a word is spelled with s or z in root, use the z; as, apprize, surprize.

19. From words spelled with sc or s omit the c. Examples: Simitar, sithe.

20. Omit the silent terminal ue when allowed. Examples: Catalog, decalog, demagog, pedagog.

❀

Too Sweeping Changes Undesirable

Spelling and pronunciation are both matters of custom, and generally customs are better changed by gradual than by revolutionary means. In so far as these rules are a codification of simplified forms of spelling already in use, they seem to us worthy of general adoption. This is true of such rules as 1, 2, and 4. In so far as they propose a certain wrench in usage simply to conform the spelling to the pronunciation, as in rule 7, which involves the substitution of thru for through, we think them unwise. Ordinarily, also, spelling is determined not by the author but by the printer, and for a very simple reason. The printers and proofreaders cannot without great inconven-

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ience and increased labor adapt themselves to a great variety of spellings. Not less serious is the objection which President Eliot is reported to have pointed out, that if American publishers should follow the new code we should have two standards for the English language, since there is small reason to believe that the English will follow in our wake. Moreover, in such a matter as the use of language, it is better to have public officials follow than prescribe a usage. According to the New York "Times," modifications of spelling have been made both in Germany and in France, but, in both countries, only after careful consideration and upon the report of special committees to which the matter was submitted for consideration and recommendation. The Philological Society of London and the American Philological Association have, indeed, united in recommending a far larger number of changes than those given in the list of the Simplified Spelling Board, but their recommendations have not won popular approval. The President would have done more to commend spelling reform, although the process might have been slower, if he had appointed, or secured the appointment of, a committee whose names would have carried authority in the literary world, to consider and report upon changes in spelling to be adopted by the Government as a whole. An order the effect of which is to make the spelling of the Government printer conform in one set of documents to one standard, while the spelling in vogue in other documents and in other printing establishments conforms to a standard radically different, will be more conducive to spelling confusion than to spelling reform.

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The Northfield Conference

The twenty-fourth annual Conference of Christian Workers attracted to East Northfield this year larger crowds than ever before. The numerous tents spread to shelter those for whom all other accommodations proved scant gave the Seminary grounds the appearance of an encampment. The visitor of chief note was the Chinese Minister, Sir Chentung-Liang-Chang, who made an interested and thorough inspection of the Seminary plant and the various lines of educational work. Our readers are sufficiently informed of the character of these far-famed conferences, in which evangelistic, missionary, Biblical, and educational topics, presented by widely known speakers, form the staple of the programme. A daily series of children's meetings was largely attended, and also the Commencement exercises at the Mount Hermon School, from which ten men were graduated. The spiritual note of Northfield travels far, and reverberates from many "little Northfields" in many lands.

❀

The Pre-eminent Issue

There is one issue before the American people which ought to supersede all others: it is that between corporate wealth and corrupt politicians on the one side and popular rights and high standards of political honesty on the other. A concrete illustration of this issue is furnished by the Winston Churchill campaign, of which Judge Remick gives our readers an account on another page. This issue presents itself in different forms in different localities, but it is always essentially the same battle, whether it is fought by Mayor Jones against demonstrated corruption in Minneapolis, or by Governor Folk against convicted boodlers in Missouri, or by Governor Deneen against open and flagrant bribery in Illinois, or by Secretary Taft against long-intrenched thievery in Ohio, or by the Lincoln Republicans against public corruption and popular apathy in Pennsylvania, or by Mayor Fagan and Mr. Colby against corporate control of State and municipal governments in New Jersey, or by William Travers Jerome against bosses and bossism in New York, or by Winston Churchill against running a State in the interest of a railway in New Hampshire, or by President Roosevelt against corporate corruption wherever it affects the Federal Government or the Federal Government can constitutionally prosecute and punish it.

It is true that there are very great

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differences between the issues as they are presented in different localities. In Minnesota, St. Louis, and Philadelphia the reformers are attacking flagrant and hardly concealed thievery. In New York they are attacking political machines organized to co-operate with great corporations for the pecuniary benefit which will come from the not too economical administration of public works. In New Hampshire and New Jersey they are attacking corporate control of the legislatures maintained for the purpose of securing specially favorable legislation for corporate interests. But one common question is presented to the voters in all these cases, namely: Shall the government be organized and administered by a small body of men who have been selected by a combination of capitalists and politicians to represent certain special interests, or by men who have been chosen by the whole body of the people and who represent the interests of the people? This is the old question in a new form: Shall a government be oligarchic or democratic, governed by the few or self-governed? The question which the voters of New Hampshire have to ask themselves is not, Is the Boston and Maine Railroad acting corruptly? It is, Shall the people of the State control its highways, or shall the private owners of its highways control the people of the State? This is the question which Congress discussed, with the aid of the press, last winter. And there is no question before the American people so fundamental and so important as this.

❀

What is Socialism?

Last Sunday morning I announced that I should read your sermon on "The Coming Age" from the pulpit in the evening. On Tuesday evening we had the room full to discuss it in the Men's Club, and the result is that they decided to take the first part of the coming season in the discussion, or perhaps better the study, of Socialism. We should like to ask as a club for your distinction between Socialism and fraternalism.

H.

Socialism may be regarded either as a spirit, a doctrine, or a programme. As a spirit, we know of no better definition of it than that given by James Russell Lowell:

> Socialism means, or wishes to mean, co-operation and community of interests, sympathy; the giving to the hands, not so large a share as to the brain, but a larger share than hitherto, in the wealth they must combine to produce; means, in short, the practical application of Christianity to life, and has in it the secret of an orderly and benign reconstruction.

This definition also hints at the fundamental doctrine of Socialism; which is, that for the welfare of the world there is required, not merely the reformation of individuals, but also a reconstruction of society. As the Abolitionist believed that it was not enough to make slaveholders kind masters and slaves industrious servants, but that slavery must be abolished, so the Socialist believes that it is not enough to make employers just and considerate and employees honest, thrifty, and industrious, but that the wage system is inherently a bad system and must be overthrown or at least radically reconstructed. The term Socialist may be properly applied to any one who believes that a radical reconstruction of society is necessary and who puts emphasis on the necessity for such reconstruction. But Socialists differ very widely among themselves as to the character of the reconstruction that is required.

Finally, Socialism may be regarded as a method or programme. This programme may be thus defined: One small body of men, the capitalists, own substantially all the tools and implements of industry; another large body of men, the employees, do substantially all the work with these tools and implements of industry. The State, that is, the people in their corporate capacity, should own the tools and implements of industry and determine the conditions and rewards of employment. Some Socialists would allow some private ownership of capital and prosecution of industry; others would make all ownership of capital corporate and would bring all prosecution of industry under the immediate direction of the State.

As a spirit, Socialism is the substitution of humanity for self-interest as the incentive to industry. As a doctrine,

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Socialism is the belief that greater emphasis needs to be laid on social reconstruction than on individual reformation. As a method, Socialism would make the State the owner of the tools and the employer of the labor, at least in all large industrial enterprises. The Outlook is in hearty sympathy with the spirit of Socialism; it is largely in sympathy with the doctrine of Socialism; it dissents from the method of Socialism.

We dissent from the method and to some extent from the doctrine of State Socialism—that is, of that form of Socialism which would make the State the chief if not the sole employer of industry—for two reasons:

State Socialism assumes that the evils of society are primarily in the organization of society; so that if the organization were changed, the evils would disappear. In fact, society never will be better than the individuals who compose it. A sound ship can never be made of rotten timber. Individual reformation and social reconstruction must go on together.

State Socialism assumes that all functions of society should be carried on by one organization, namely, the State. In fact, society can better perform its various functions by separate organizations. Putting the Church under State control did not make a free Church. It is more free since it has been taken out from State control. Putting industries under State control would not make the industries free. The industries of the free State of Congo are under State control, and industrial despotism is nowhere in the world so bad as it is in the free State of Congo. The Socialist replies that Socialism assumes a democratic State to organize and carry on democratic industries. But in assuming that the State will be democratic when the strong men of the State are incited by covetousness as well as by ambition to control the State, they assume as true what history proves to be false. To take industry out of the hands of a Carnegie and put it into the hands of a Croker would not make industry free, although Croker were kept in power by popular suffrage and Carnegie were not.

In estimating the value of Socialism the student should keep clearly in mind this distinction between its spirit, its doctrine, and its programme. He should not be ready to accept its programme merely because he believes its doctrine and admires and shares in its spirit.

The question "What is Fraternalism?" we shall take up next week.

❀

Diamond or Seed?

Is the New Testament a diamond or a seed? Is the Church furnished with a finished product which it is to hand down through successive generations as a completed house is passed by bequest from father to son, or is it given a life which is to be developed in successive generations, growing with the growth of the world? Both conceptions are entertained; the difference between them is radical; and no one can understand the present religious problem who does not at least understand both points of view. Canon Liddon expresses the first in his commendation of the souls "who gaze prayerfully and steadily at the complete Revelation of Christ." Henry Ward Beecher expressed the second when, asked if there was any prospect of his completing the Life of Christ, he said, as if to himself, after his visitor had left: "Finish the life of Christ? Who can finish the life of Christ? It cannot be finished."

According to one conception, Christ completed his work for mankind in his death and his resurrection; completed his revelation to mankind in his life in Palestine; completed his teaching to mankind in the four Gospels. According to this view, in these four Gospels and in the apostolic interpretation of them is furnished to humanity all truth concerning God and human duty. This is the faith once delivered unto the saints, which is to be kept as a sacred treasure and at the same time bestowed on others as immeasurable wealth. To know this system of divine truth it is only necessary to understand the words of the New Testament; to understand this revelation of God it is only necessary to be familiar with the facts of Christ's life; to receive salvation it is

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only necessary to accept for one's self the complete sacrifice made once for all in Christ's passion on the cross. The Gospel is a diamond: nothing can be added to it; nothing can be taken from it. It is in the twentieth century exactly what it was in the first century.

According to the other conception, Christ is a life-giver. He has come that men might have life, and might have it more abundantly. He teaches not a complete system of truth which the pupil is to accept unquestioningly; he teaches that he may inspire his pupils to do their own thinking; he manifests God, not by showing the complete Godhead in a single miniature, but by opening the way for the soul to grow into fellowship with God, as he was himself in fellowship with God. He brings salvation to men, not by one completed sacrifice ended with the cry, "It is finished," but by revealing the self-sacrificing heart of the eternal Father, and by inspiring in the hearts of the children the same spirit of self-sacrifice.

According to the one conception, theology is a complete and brief system of divine truth, to which nothing can be added and from which nothing can be taken away. According to the other conception, we know in fragments and we prophesy in fragments. According to the one conception, this system of divine truth has been embodied in historic creeds from which the Church must not depart; according to the other conception, every creed, whether it be the latest Presbyterian addition to the Westminster Confession of Faith or the earliest Apostles' Creed, is but a human expression of an always partial and imperfect understanding of truth. Truth can never be more than imperfectly understood, because it is infinite and man is finite. Lessing said, "If God were to offer me truth in the one hand and search for truth in the other hand, I would choose search for truth." In the one conception the New Testament is truth, in the other conception it is search for truth.

So, again, in the one conception the revelation of God to men is completed in the Gospel narratives of the life of Jesus; according to the other conception, God was in Jesus Christ for the purpose of revealing to mankind that he is always in the world, feeling as Jesus Christ felt, doing as Jesus Christ did, teaching as Jesus Christ taught, living, loving, redeeming as did Jesus Christ. According to this conception, Christianity is the life of Jesus Christ, and that life will not be complete, nor the revelation of God in Jesus Christ be complete, until the whole world sees God face to face, and all life is so pervaded by the divine that he is perceived to be All and in all. "I am the vine," says Jesus Christ; "ye are the branches." To this parable the conception of the unfinished life of Christ gives an almost literal interpretation. The vine is always growing, always putting forth new branches, always giving new fruit.

So again, in the one conception, salvation is an external change accomplished once for all by a completed fact. The money is restored to the pouch, the sheep is restored to the fold, the son is restored to the father's house, and all is done. According to the other conception, salvation is character, and character is life, and life is never ended. This is what Christ means by eternal life. It is a process of perpetual development, a never-ending growth in grace and in knowledge. The glory he gives us is "the glory of going on and still to be."

The Catholic doctrine—Roman Catholic, Greek Catholic, Anglican Catholic—is the doctrine of a completed revelation. It therefore affirms the sacredness of tradition, defends the integrity of the creed, rests with assurance upon the word of Scripture; looks backward, not forward, for the truth; regards primitive Christianity as the ideal Christianity, and all modifications of the doctrines of the Fathers as corruptions. The Protestant doctrine is the doctrine of a perpetual growing revelation. It affirms that the creeds are the garments which the child has worn, the steps which the child has taken; they mark the successive stages of the child's growth, and are valuable, not because they set bounds to human progress, but because they indicate its direction. It affirms that the twentieth century should understand Jesus Christ better than the first century under-

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stood him; that the conception of the twentieth century should be more Christian than the conception of the first century; that not primitive Christianity but progressive Christianity is the ideal; that Christianity is a prophecy rather than a tradition; and that while the truth of God, the revelation of God, and the life of God have been given to all ages and are to be found in all liturgies and all confessions of faith, it is to the future rather than to the past that we are to look for this truth, this revelation, this life, in its highest manifestation.

We believe that Christianity is a seed, not a diamond; a life, not a system. But we here attempt, not to argue for the one conception or the other, but to set forth clearly the antithesis, for we are sure that those who hold the one view can never comprehend the other view unless they comprehend this fundamental difference between the two conceptions of Christianity—as the diamond and as the seed, as the finished product and as an ever-growing life.

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The Spectator

When the Spectator visits an aquarium, he finds himself lamentably torn in his mind. The artist, the angler, and the small boy within him keep him chained to those dim green corridors where fishes swim, "their fluid bodies half dissolved in light." The glancing tints of lapis-lazuli and turquoise, of scarlet, aquamarine, and gold, on scaly sides and streaming fin and tail, appease his native hunger for color, and the illusion of being twenty thousand leagues under the sea stirs longings that have slept since the days when he devoured Jules Verne. And yet the sound of guzzling siphons draws him mightily toward the esoteric delights of the aquarium green-room. Sooner or later he finds himself knocking at the private door which leads behind the scenes.

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There is nothing inherently beautiful about the wrong side of an aquarium. Damp boards, rough tanks, and fishes dimmed by dark sea-water replace the mysteries, the riot of color, in the display tanks below. On the other hand, in place of uncommunicative labels there is a man—a man versed in the ways of fish in sickness and in health; a man, moreover, who loves to talk. What naturalist does not? Many a time has the Spectator made the round of the tanks at feeding-time, studying the vagaries of fish character at first hand. There is as much temperament displayed among the finny prisoners in an aquarium as among the visitors flattening their noses against the glass. The toadfish, for example, is no gentleman and no sportsman. Not only is he too lazy to catch his meals alive, but he does not even bestir himself to snatch the prepared morsels as they float in clean water, letting them foul themselves on the bottom before he champs them up clumsily, mud and all. The flounder and the sculpin belong among the slovens, feeding off the bottom like the sea-scavengers they are, and the marks of their low breeding are graven on their ugly countenances, as they are upon the faces of slovens who live on land.

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A truly high-minded and gamy fish, like the trout, takes his food after quite another fashion. When the quartermaster gets to the trout tank, he sets down his tray of chopped clams, liver, raw meat, and dead fish, and sends for a bucket of lively minnows. These he spills, one silvery handful after another, into the pool. The Spectator is no hunter, and he feels that his sympathies ought normally to go with the minnowlings. But even he cannot restrain his admiration of the pure skill the trout show in running down their prey. Little as he is, the minnow is no despicable quarry; for he cannot be taken from behind. The Spectator has seen more than one unhappy trout that had attempted a minnow tail-end first, and was repenting at leisure with a sharp dorsal fin jammed across his throat, scuttling about the tank with the fore-half of the minnow protruding unconcernedly from his gaping jaws. He could neither swallow the awkward morsel nor spew it out. The Spectator fancies he has

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seen a twinkle in the eye of the minnow and chagrin in that of the trout. But the incident has usually closed with the discomfiture of the quarry, a second trout obligingly coming to the rescue and swallowing the minnow head first.

❀

That is, it must be admitted, a little like shooting a tied bear, and is resorted to only when all other expedients have failed. The accepted method is for the trout to dart and whisk about the pool in a mad endeavor to meet a fleeing minnow face to face, in which case the little fish goes by the rush of his own momentum into the dark interior of the big one. A tankful of rainbow trout, leaping and flashing and interlacing in the excitement of the chase, is a sight to be remembered.

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Speaking of table manners, the minnow himself has very nice ones. Who that has shared a basket luncheon with the denizens of a lively brook has not seen the bread he cast upon the water surrounded by a little school of silvery fish? Lining up like civilized folk at a box office, the minnows take accurate turns in nibbling, each gratified fishling swimming a wide circle and falling in again at the end of the line. It is sad to see a polite creature like the minnow tricked as he always is in aquaria. Confined in the tanks with big, slow-witted fish, he partakes daintily of the food showered down through the water, food which the big fellows are too lazy to snap up. And then, when all has been nicely disposed of, some great, lumbering fish gulps down the patient minnow, manners, provender, and all!

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The cold impersonality of a fish makes it difficult for the Spectator to credit him with the baser passions. But fish-fanciers have many times assured him that jealousy and murderous hate lurk in the scaly bosoms of the most beautiful specimens. You may chain together a polar bear and a brown bear, and after weeks of mutual recriminations the pair will settle down to endure one another. But put an angel-fish—that miracle of blue and gold effectiveness—into a tank with any other sort of swimming thing, and, with the sharp spur it carries on its brilliant blue gill-covers, it will stab and stab until its own are the only moving fins within the pool. The time has been when angel-fish slew angel-fish in cold blood.

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The Spectator once attended a clinic at the hospital tank in a great aquarium. The patients were mostly afflicted with fungus, which, to judge by their dejected air, must be an extremely depressing malady. The doctor laid a stretcher over one end of the tank so that its sagging cotton webbing took up a little pool of water. Capturing a sick whitefish with a dip-net, he laid it out on the stretcher, and, grasping it firmly by its thick shoulders, he dipped a cloth in strong brine, with which, despite its anguished writhings, he bathed that unhappy fish from tip to tail. Released, the patient sank dismally, belly upwards, to the bottom of the pool. Had he been a salt-water fish instead of a denizen of the Great Lakes, he would have been treated to a fresh-water bath, since fungi are destroyed by a short stay in the wrong sort of water, while the fish, though lamentably incommoded, survives to tell the tale. Those who succumb to the hardships of captivity or the onslaught of bloodthirsty kindred have their brief epitaphs written up in the aquarium necrology—"May 2, one perch; June 4, one burfish." There is a sick-list, too, of those who are "off their feed" and must be coaxed with salt codfish or other delicacies calculated to whet the most pining of appetites. For with fish as with folk, prevention is cheaper than cure, and the keeper watches his finny pets for the first symptoms of moping.

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To the Spectator's mind the most fascinating part of the exhibit at Castle Garden is that upper room, familiar enough to school-children and naturalists, where the balanced aquaria stand. The most exquisite of sea creatures will not thrive in great tanks where the water is perpetually changing, and, did they

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thrive, nobody would notice them among the spectacular colored fishes. But in small aquaria where the balance of animal and plant life is so delicate that each supplies the other's needs, the water need not be changed for a series of years, and the little pools swarm with minute and infinitely varied forms of life. In one aquarium, where the same water has remained for thirteen years, coral polyps, living sponges, countless feathery barnacles, tiny anemones and delicate hydroids, ghostly shrimps, and little transparent crustaceans that look like water-fleas—these and dozens of other mysterious little creatures go about their business in no wise embarrassed by observing human eyes.

❀

Mr. Spencer, whose charges they are, delights to show them off to those who will look close enough to catch their delicate beauty. He points out what looks like a tiny feathery flower swaying on a stem of hairlike slenderness, and then, with a light pointer, he touches the filmy thing. Presto! No blossom, but a shapeless dot of jelly no bigger than a pinhead! These marvelous little blooming-beasts have a surprising amount of animal strength. Mr. Spencer tells how one day his assistant came running with the news that the littlest anemone had caught a killifish an inch long and evidently proposed digesting it out of hand. Hurrying to the rescue, he was forced to thump the anemone severely before it could be made to relinquish its hold. The Spectator has noted how a shrimp, having inadvertently approached the voracious petals of a sea-anemone, will scurry off at a sharp angle, with every evidence of violent twitteration. It irks the Spectator to see these frail sea-blossoms hugging fragments of the vulgar clam in their tinted petals, and to realize that on such crude morsels is their daintiness fed. The hermit and horseshoe crabs, the lizards, the starfish, the climbing-fish, the mud-puppies, must be left, their praises all unsung. Perhaps the next time the gentle reader finds himself gravitating Batterywards, he will take pains to discover the rest for himself.

CHRIST'S SECRET OF HAPPINESS

VII.—A TWICE BLESSED GRACE

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy.

TO understand the deeper meaning of this aphorism some exact definition is necessary.

Mercy is the highest phase of love. Justice desires to treat every man according to his deserts; pity shares his sufferings and desires to alleviate them, however they have been caused; mercy looks upon his sin as disease and longs to cure it. Justice would avenge wrong-doing; pity would relieve from the punishment of wrong-doing; mercy would cure the wrong-doer. Justice punishes; pity pardons; mercy forgives.

For, in the New Testament use of that term, forgiveness is not merely relief from punishment, it is deliverance from sin. The distinction between pardon and forgiveness is not clearly marked in language, but the distinction between the pity which would succor from punishment and the mercy which would redeem from sin is clearly marked in experience. When the Psalmist says, "Pardon my iniquity; for it is great," he does not mean, Because my sin deserves so great a punishment, take off the punishment altogether; what he means is, My disease is so great that it is beyond my curing; do thou, O Lord, come to my succor and be my physician!

Christ's saying, "Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy," does not mean, "If you would be pardoned, you must be willing to pardon; if you would be relieved from your deserved punishment, you must be willing to relieve your brother man from

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his deserved punishment:" as though God said, "I will not let the wrong-doer go until he has let go the one who has wronged him." In this aphorism of Christ's is a far deeper meaning. The desire of forgiveness for ourselves and the desire of forgiveness for others are essentially one and the same desire. If we really hate the sin in ourselves and desire to be cured, we shall also hate the sin in our neighbor and desire to cure him. The same feeling respecting sin which leads us to wish to receive from another the cure will make us wish to extend to another the cure. We cannot be forgiven, that is, delivered from our sin, unless we are willing to relinquish sin; but if we wish to relinquish the sin in ourselves, we shall also wish to deliver our neighbor from the sin which is in him. The desire to be forgiven and the desire to forgive are essentially the same.

There is a strange tendency to degeneracy in language which indicates a degeneracy in experience. Faithfulness ought to mean full of faith; hopefulness, full of hope; mercifulness, full of mercy. Yet, in fact, we ordinarily mean little more by merciful than a willingness to exercise mercy, as by charitable we mean a willingness to exercise charity. The Psalmist says of God, "His mercy endureth forever." He is full of mercy. It is in him an inexhaustible spring. His power to cure is greater than our power to offend. The merciful man is in spirit like the merciful God: his mercy endureth forever. The passion to cure sin abounds in him and overflows in him like the enthusiastic physician's passion to cure disease. The greater the disease, the greater the interest in conquering it; the greater the sin, the greater the interest in overcoming it. Punishment is to the merciful man only a means for cure, as amputation of the diseased limb is only a means for saving threatened life.

He who possesses this passion for redemption, this curative enthusiasm, this eager longing to be a physician for the spiritual life in the exercise of forgiving kindness, receives forgiving kindness. In curing others he cures himself. As no man can teach the truth sincerely and not understand the truth better because he teaches it, so no man can give himself to the work of purifying others without in the very process purifying himself. He cannot go into the slums for the purpose of inspiring men and women with an ambition for cleanliness of body, purity of soul, temperance, kindliness, unaffected piety, without himself gaining a clearer understanding of and a greater desire for cleanliness, purity, temperance, kindliness, and unaffected piety in his own life. The way to save one's soul is to endeavor to save the souls of others. The redeemer becomes himself redeemed.

There is a joy in forgiving and a joy in being forgiven. The joy of forgiving, Christ has illustrated in the Parable of the Prodigal Son: "Likewise, I say unto you, there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth." The joy of being forgiven, John has illustrated in his vision of the Celestial City: "And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth." This double joy of forgiving and being forgiven belongs to the merciful man; that is, to the man who is dominated by the desire to be cleansed himself and to cleanse other men of iniquity, to be cured himself and to cure other men of sin.

"The quality of mercy is not strain'd,
It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven
Upon the place beneath: it is twice blest;
It blesseth him that gives and him that takes:
'Tis mightiest in the mightiest: it becomes
The throned monarch better than his crown:
His scepter shows the force of temporal power,
The attribute to awe and majesty,
Wherein doth sit the dread and fear of kings;
But mercy is above this sceptered sway;
It is enthroned in the hearts of kings,
It is an attribute to God himself;
And earthly power doth then show likest God's,
When mercy seasons justice."

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WINSTON CHURCHILL AND HIS CAMPAIGN

BY JAMES W. REMICK

The author of this article, as many of the readers of The Outlook may know, has been an Associate Justice of the New Hampshire Supreme Court, and is a Republican of long standing.—THE EDITORS.

BY the wholesale distribution of free passes, the retainer of most of the leading attorneys, politicians, and newspapers throughout the State, irrespective of party, and by means of the many other seductive and compelling influences at the command of such a gigantic corporation, the Boston and Maine Railroad has subjected the State of New Hampshire to a domination no less complete than that against which the people of so many States of the Union are now in revolt.

At the last annual meeting of the State Bar Association, its president, a conservative man, counsel for large vested interests, with nothing of the demagogue in his nature, delivered an address upon the influence of the railroad and its lobby in the politics and legislation of New Hampshire, and denounced it as "a foul thing which is sapping and undermining the very foundations of the government of our State and making and unmaking nearly all its officials."

The purpose of the Lincoln Republican Club and of the candidacy of Winston Churchill is to overthrow this corrupting domination and to restore the government of the State to the hands of the people, where it belongs. Before the movement was begun, the railroad management had been appealed to over and over again by disinterested citizens of the State to correct the abuses complained of by voluntary action. Eight years ago, one who is now a member of the Lincoln Republican Club took the liberty to write the president of the road in part as follows:

> Your corporation, instead of attending strictly to the business for which it was created—serving the people as a common carrier of passengers and freight, and earning dividends for its stockholders—has obtruded itself into politics with constantly increasing audacity, until it is to-day the dominant influence in every political movement in the State. Its personnel and retained corps is so distributed between the parties that it has access to, and commanding influence in, the primaries, conventions, and councils of both. Representatives, senators, councilors, and governors are indebted to its influence for their nomination and election. The influence thus acquired is exerted to control the organization, deliberations, and acts of the General Court and the deliberations and acts of the Executive Department as well. Of course this is an unwholesome and vicious condition, destructive of the very essence of popular government. I had indulged the hope that broad management, guided by enlightened self-interest, would soon correct this evil, by restoring the road to its legitimate functions, leaving the State government to take its natural course, trusting, not to free passes, the lobby, and kindred agencies, but to the just sense of a free and fair-minded people, to protect the interests of the road.
>
> If the corporation persists in the wholesale intermeddling in State affairs, I do not hesitate to say that it is the duty of the people, at the right time, upon the right platform, with right motives and right leadership, to demonstrate once for all that they alone are sovereign in New Hampshire and that they will not suffer any private corporation, however powerful, to dominate and corrupt it.

It being suggested that the abuses complained of, if they existed, were due to the unauthorized actions of the company's representatives, the corporation was reminded that it could not thus escape responsibility so long as it permitted its lieutenants to make use of its free passes and the vast political machinery of the road without rebuke or protest. With every inclination to believe in the good intentions of the president of the company, and earnestly desiring correction of abuses by the voluntary action of the corporation, the same writer urged him to make an official declaration, and, at the risk of seeming

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presumptuous, the following was submitted for his consideration:

It is apparent from oral and written communications received at this office, at various times and from different sources, that there exists in the State of New Hampshire an honest impression, more or less general, that the Boston and Maine Railroad dominates the political affairs of that State. Without inquiring how this impression originated, whether from the artful misrepresentation of political demagogues, the unauthorized and injudicious acts and sayings of the company's representatives, or otherwise, let it now, once for all, be understood, by the public at large, and by the agents, attorneys, and servants of the company, that with the political affairs of New Hampshire the Boston and Maine Railroad has nothing whatever to do.

The business of this corporation is to serve the public, for a reasonable toll, in the transportation of passengers and freight, thereby earning a fair dividend for its stockholders, improving and extending its system, and stimulating the development of villages and cities and of every interest along its line.

Pursuing, in a legitimate way, these legitimate objects, in the furtherance of which the interests of the road and of the people are mutual, we may safely leave the determination of the company's rights, so far as they may be involved in political movements in New Hampshire, where it properly and constitutionally belongs—with the people, guided by full and free discussion, and by that sturdy sense of justice which always has, and I believe always will, actuate them.

As the courtesy heretofore extended in the form of free passes is, and, if continued, will still be, misinterpreted, and as the custom is contrary to the trend of modern legislation and progressive railroad management, the issuance of such passes will hereafter be restricted to the officials and the business of the company.

The salary of members of the General Court having, presumably, been fixed with regard somewhat to the custom of legislative passes, no change in this respect will be made at present; but it is hoped that the State will make due and seasonable provision in this behalf, to the end that this fruitful source of suspicion may be removed, and a relation of mutual trust and confidence established between the people and this corporation.

Whether these communications received attention, or were contemptuously thrown into the waste-basket as exhibitions of presumptuous audacity, the writer does not know. He does know that since, as before, on each New Year the State has been flooded with annual free passes. He does know that since, as before, a lobby has been maintained at the Capitol during each legislative session, and that when extraordinary pressure has been required, the political pass-holders of the corporation have been summoned from all sections of the State to apply it. He does know that since, as before, nominations, elections, and legislation have been very largely dictated by the Boston and Maine Railroad and its lobby.

In view of such persistent usurpation of the rights of the people in the face of such appeals for reform through railroad initiative, may we not hope that the readers of The Outlook will regard the Lincoln Republican Club movement as timely, justifiable, disinterested, and sane? Above all, we would have them know that the movement is in no sense an attack upon any legitimate interests of the railroad, but purely and simply a campaign in defense of the principles of popular government against those pernicious practices into which the railroad has drifted, perhaps unconsciously. We would fight as valiantly to safeguard all legitimate interests of the railroad against demagogic attack in whatever form and from whatever source, as we are now fighting to defend the State against its debasing domination by the railroad. Nor do we suggest that the railroad managers or the lobby willfully and maliciously design harm to the State. Like the bribery of voters (alas! too common throughout the country), we look upon the condition as a growth, premeditated by none, at heart regretted by all, and as to which few, if any, are entirely guiltless.

So much as to the occasion for and the spirit and object of the movement. Now as to the candidate.

Winston Churchill came to New Hampshire eight years ago. Although scarce thirty years of age, he had even then by his genius and industry won world-wide fame through writing, in romantic story, of the history and heroes of the Republic. Among our hills he built from the earnings of his pen a beautiful home, and, inspired by its surroundings, dedicated himself anew to literary work. To his credit, he was not content merely to write of other men's deeds, but, like Roosevelt, of whom he is a disciple, he burned to have a part in the events of

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his time and to do something worthy to be written. Proud of him, his fellow-townsmen elected him to the New Hampshire Legislature. He entered that body, carrying with him those ideals of government so fondly cherished by most young men at the threshold of their political careers. It was the writer's privilege to ride horseback with him during those days of his first legislative experience, and his comments upon what he had seen and heard have not been forgotten. It is sufficient to say that he made it very evident that every instinct of his nature was in revolt against the condition which he had discovered. This spirit found literary expression in "Coniston." It took practical form when, last June, he announced his candidacy for the State Senate, declaring that, if elected, he would fight to put the government of New Hampshire back in the hands of the people, where it belonged.

At this point a distinguished Republican, who had been associated with him in legislative work, wrote him, urging him to become a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor. Instead of seizing the suggestion with the "itch for office" of which he has been accused, he persistently appealed to others to lead. It was then that thirteen New Hampshire Republicans, among them the Bishop of the Episcopal Church for this diocese, the Professor of Law at Dartmouth, another gentleman who recently declined the Chief Justiceship of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, and ten others, met and organized the Lincoln Republican Club, declared for (1) the abolition of free passes, (2) a primary law to permit a direct vote by the people for candidates, (3) a corrupt practices act prohibiting political contributions from corporations and requiring publication of campaign expenses, (4) practical abolition of the lobby by registration and publicity, (5) election of railroad commissioners by the people, and wrote to Winston Churchill, pledging their support if he would consent to become a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor upon that platform.

His acceptance of the platform came into our self-seeking political life like a refreshing breeze from the ocean, and is the best answer to the charge of his opponents that he is impelled by an inordinate ambition for office. He said:

> I subscribe without reservation to the several propositions to-day set forth by the Lincoln Republican Club of New Hampshire, and would suggest that they be submitted to the other candidates for Governor. If they will all assent, the success of the cause is assured, and that is more to me than any personal consideration. In such event, if thought desirable, I would gladly efface myself in behalf of such one of the other candidates as the Lincoln Club saw fit to indorse.

The distinguished Republican who first suggested the candidacy of Mr. Churchill did not sign with the thirteen the letter inviting him to lead the movement. The reason is stated in his reply to an invitation to join, and is significant. He wrote:

> I have always admired Mr. Churchill, and his splendid work in the last House in the interest of all reform bills greatly increased my admiration of the man, and his name came to me as one on whom all parties could unite, and who would make a Governor of whom we all would be proud. Since I wrote you, it has been intimated to me in strong language that his name would not be acceptable to the railroad interests of the State, but would be strongly opposed. This was a great surprise to me, and I learned it with disappointment and regret.

What a commentary! Mr. Churchill, admirable man, with record of splendid work for reform, would make a Governor of whom we all would be proud, yet impossible! Why? Because his name would not be "acceptable to the railroad interests of the State, but strongly opposed."

It will be seen that the candidacy of Mr. Churchill is entirely logical. By his previous attitude he was marked as one worthy to lead in the State, as the President is leading in the Nation, the movement for the overthrow of corporate domination and the restoration of the government to the hands of the people. That he would make a good Governor there can be no doubt. To say that he is a man with high convictions of public duty, with the ability to write for them and the courage to fight for them, would be superfluous in the light of what he has done and is doing. As a legislator,

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he can have no higher tribute than that paid him in the letter which has been quoted, written by one entirely competent to judge, because of his association with him in legislative matters.

As clerk, midshipman, magazine writer and manager, author, legislator, and as candidate for several weeks of the Lincoln Republican Club of New Hampshire, making speeches throughout the State, he has met every requirement, made steady advancement, and shown a reserve power and genius for adaption which are a guaranty of his capacity. His election to the chief magistracy would honor the State as much as it would honor him, while the establishment, as the political policy of New Hampshire, of the principles for which he alone of the candidates uncompromisingly stands, dwarfs all personal considerations and makes the contest one worthy of the attention it is receiving throughout the Nation.

Regarding progress and prospects, it is scarce a month since the movement was launched. As was expected, it was met by a volley of abuse and ridicule from the newspaper, machine, and pass-holding intrenchments of the railroad, the purpose evidently being to discourage and kill the movement; but the vicious outpouring made no impression on the Lincoln Republican Club or its candidate, except, perhaps, that this latest manifestation of railroad spirit and policy intensified the determination already fixed to fight to the finish. The campaign was inaugurated and is being prosecuted by ante-primary rallies held throughout the State, addressed by Mr. Churchill and others. At the outset there was an attempt to boycott the meetings, first by discouraging attendance and then by misrepresenting it as insignificant and composed of Democrats and women. In spite of this and the repelling heat of the season, the meetings from the first have been more than encouraging, both in point of attendance and enthusiasm, while the more recent meetings have taxed the seating capacity of the largest halls to be had. At first no State daily newspaper would report the meetings, but now such interest has been awakened, and there has come such demand from the people for reports, that newspaper enterprise has responded, however unwillingly, and the speeches of Mr. Churchill are receiving daily dissemination throughout the State.

But most significant is the fact that the supporters of the other candidates are now telling the voters that the essential principles of the Lincoln Republican Club will be incorporated into the Republican State platform at the coming convention, whoever is called to stand upon it. If this should prove true, we know it would be the preference of Mr. Churchill to efface himself and return to his literary work, carrying with him the pleasing consciousness of having accomplished so much for his party and his State.

But promises are one thing, fulfillment another. And while the Lincoln Republican Club is, of course, gratified at such signs of its effectiveness, there will be no cessation of its efforts until the principles for which it contends have been incorporated not only into the platform of the party, but into the laws of the State.

In the progress of the movement to the present point, one of the greatest forces in its aid has been the sympathetic expression which has come from the Nation at large,

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"IN HEAVEN, GOD; IN OKHOTSK, KOCH"

BY GEORGE KENNAN

MORE than a century ago, in the little East Siberian town of Okhotsk, there lived and reigned a local governor, of German ancestry, who was known to his subordinates and subjects as "The Honorable Ispravnik, Ivan Vassilievich Koch." His post of duty was so far away from the administrative center of the Empire that he was practically free from Ministerial control; his local power was so great that nobody could compel him to act in accordance with law; and he gradually assumed all the authority and independence of an autocratic sovereign. He ruled his subjects for many years with a rod of iron, and when he finally died his name was handed down to posterity in the popular proverb, "In Heaven, God; in Okhotsk, Koch." Recent events in Russia have recalled to my mind the story of this long-dead Siberian ispravnik, and I have taken as an appropriate title for the present article the proverb in which his memory is embalmed. With slight modification it might serve, not only as the title for an article, but as an inscription to be engraved on an iron plate and hung up over the main entrance to the Tauride Palace in St. Petersburg: "In Heaven, God; in Russia, the Bureaucracy."

The freedom of bureaucratic officials from legal control and the origin of that immunity may be shown by a few facts from contemporary Russian history. In April last, while elections to the Duma were in progress, Mr. Durnovo, then Minister of the Interior, sent to the Governors of all the provinces in European Russia the following telegram: "Under the provisions of the law of reinforced defense, you are hereby instructed to arrest all students, Jews, and vagabond orators who make their appearance in the peasant villages, and to keep them in prison, *without regard to the judicial authorities*."

A little later—in May—Representative Alikin, in behalf of the whole Kazan delegation in the Duma, went personally to Mr. Strizhefski, the Governor of Kazan, and asked him to release from the prisons of that province all politicals against whom no charge of misconduct had been brought. When the Governor refused to grant this not unreasonable request, Mr. Alikin ventured to say that the long imprisonment of persons not accused of any offense was having a very bad effect on public opinion. To this the Governor coolly and cynically replied, "We are not obliged to reckon with public opinion."

Still later—on the 16th of July—Mr. Makaroff, Assistant Minister of the Interior, came personally before the Duma to answer a series of thirty-three interpellations with regard to as many specific cases of arrest without warrant, imprisonment without accusation, and exile to Siberia without trial. The Assistant Minister, with easy bearing and cool effrontery, said, in substance or effect:

Yes, we did arrest twenty-one of these persons without warrant, and we have held them a long time in prison without accusation or trial; but we are authorized to do this by the law of reinforced defense.

Yes, we did arrest Dr. Trunoff, a physician of the Kaluga zemstvo, and exile him without trial to the Arctic district of Turukhansk in eastern Siberia; but we were empowered to do this by the law of reinforced defense.

Yes, we did banish the school-teacher Orloff, without trial, to the sub-Arctic district of Narym, in western Siberia; but he was an agitator, and in making this disposition of him we acted strictly in accordance with the law of reinforced defense.

Yes, we did exile to Narym, without accusation or trial, four citizens of the

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town of Irbit; but they had been active in getting up strikes, and we are authorized to remove such men by the law of reinforced defense.

Yes, we did banish the man Meltzeff, although he had not been guilty of anything. In the opinion of a council of officials, held secretly in the Ministry of the Interior, he was a dangerous man, and we are authorized to remove such men by the law of reinforced defense.

Yes, we have held twenty-one persons in prison without trial, beyond the limits of the term fixed even by the law of reinforced defense; but the St. Petersburg gradonachalnik (prefect) directed that their terms of confinement be increased, and this he had a right to do under the same law.

Yes, we do keep in prison persons who have not been guilty of misdemeanor or crime, but such imprisonment is not a punishment. It is only a precaution, and we are authorized to take precautions by the law of reinforced defense.

With regard to the charges of criminal misconduct made against officials of the Government, and the questions based thereon, the Ministry is relieved from the necessity of making any reply by Section 8 of the law of reinforced defense. That section does not permit interference of any kind with the acts of the higher authorities. Governors-General and the Ministry of the Interior are not subject to the Duma, but are absolutely independent.

Yes, the Czar's manifesto of October 30, 1905, is regarded by some persons as inconsistent with the law of reinforced defense; but people who so think are in error. The manifesto in question set forth the fundamental principles of liberty, but it did not change or abrogate any existing law.

Yes, his Majesty, in that manifesto, did deign to say: "In obedience to Our inflexible will, We hereby make it the duty of Our Government to give the people freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of public assembly, freedom of association, and real inviolability of personal rights;" but this declaration did not abrogate the law of reinforced defense.

Yes, his Imperial Majesty did say, "No law shall take effect without the sanction of the Duma;" but these words had reference only to future laws; they did not affect the law of reinforced defense.

Yes, his Majesty did say, "We charge Our Government with the duty of giving to the representatives of the people real participation in the supervision and control of the officials whom We have appointed;" but this command was not applicable to places already declared in a state of siege, nor to officials acting under the law of reinforced defense.[1]

From these replies of the bureaucracy to the representatives of the people it appears that students, Jews, and "vagabond orators" may be held indefinitely in prison, "without regard to the judicial authorities;" that Governors may say contemptuously to members of the Duma, "We are not obliged to reckon with public opinion;" that the Minister of the Interior may exile to Siberia, as a precaution, persons who, by his own admission, are innocent; that official appointees of the Czar may ignore his manifestoes; that Governors-General may imprison, exile, and, in effect, kill troublesome people at their own discretion;[2] and that all, when questioned or arraigned, may coolly say, "We have a legal right to do whatever we like. The Magna Charta of our license is the law of reinforced defense, and under the sanction of that law we may disobey Imperial commands, disregard public opinion, defy the representatives of the people, try civil cases secretly in military courts, and banish all dissatisfied citizens to the Arctic province of Yakutsk.

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[1] Stenographic report of the proceedings of the Duma, "The Strana," St. Petersburg, June 17, 1906; pp. 2 and 3.

[2] It seems to me obvious that when a Governor-General arrests, as a "precautionary" measure, a man who has committed no illegal act, and puts him in a prison where he dies from the unsanitary condition of his cell, or where he is shot, without adequate cause, by a turnkey or a soldier, such man is murdered by the official who ordered his imprisonment. The latter may not have intended to kill, but he is responsible for the death, because the police who made the arrest, the officials who allowed the cell to remain in an unsanitary condition, and the soldier who used his rifle without necessity or justification, were all under his control. It can never be proved, indeed, that the Governor-General did not intend to kill, because the conditions of life to which he subjected the prisoner were presumably known to him. They are now known to every Russian who reads the daily papers.

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You say that this is 'proisvol' [the arbitrary exercise of capricious and irresponsible power], but you are in error. We are acting strictly in accordance with the law of reinforced defense."

In view of the great importance which this law has assumed in the present struggle it may be worth while briefly to review its history. It had its origin in the exceptional measures to which the Ministers of Alexander II. resorted when they found themselves unable to cope with the rising tide of revolution caused by their reactionary policy. The savage and brutal repression of the peaceful propaganda of 1872–4; the arrest and long imprisonment of about two thousand young people, of both sexes, who "went to the people" with counsel and help; the inhuman treatment of political offenders in fortresses and prisons; the flogging of Bogoliuboff for refusing to take off his hat to General Trepoff, and the general adoption of the policy of "terror" by the bureaucracy in its dealings with political malcontents, finally led the more desperate of the revolutionists to make reprisals in kind. In 1878 a young girl named Vera Zasulich began the campaign of retaliatory violence by shooting General Trepoff, the flogger of the political prisoner Bogoliuboff. This reply of the revolutionary terrorists to the bureaucratic terrorists was followed by a series of murders on both sides, which finally culminated, on the 14th of April, 1879, in an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate the Czar. The Government of that time, instead of quieting the public and placating the moderate wing of the opposition by returning to a policy of justice and legality, determined to clear for action by throwing off the trammels of law altogether. On the 17th of April, 1879, Alexander II. proclaimed a state of siege throughout the greater part of European Russia, appointed six Governors-General with headquarters in St. Peterburg, Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Kherson, and Kharkoff, and issued a ukase authorizing these officials to exile without trial all persons whom they regarded as dangerous, to imprison without legal formalities as many people as they thought necessary, to try civil cases in military courts with closed doors, and generally to disregard existing law whenever, in their discretion, they thought it necessary or expedient to do so.[1]

This sweeping ukase, which was officially described at the time as a "temporary" measure, turned the chiefs of the bureaucracy into military dictators, and enabled them to crush moderate liberals, as well as revolutionists and terrorists, by the direct exercise of unlimited power. Finding that the new order was a deadly weapon which could be effectively handled by any bureaucratic official, the Czar and his Ministers reforged and retempered it, and, on the 26th of August, 1881, brought it out under a new name. In its original shape it was known as "A ukase giving governors-general certain special rights for the maintenance of social order and tranquillity." In its improved form it was called "The law of reinforced and extraordinary defense" (*Usilenoi i chrezvwichainoi okhrana*). Properly speaking, it was not a law at all, because it had never been considered or voted upon in the Council of the Empire;[2] but it had all the appearance and effect of law, and it was a valuable shield to the officials of the bureaucracy, for the reason that it gave a quasi-legal sanction to the most arbitrary and capricious of their acts. It ought to have been entitled "A ukase authorizing bureaucratic officials to reinforce and defend themselves by violating the civil and criminal codes," because it empowered them, in the exercise of their independent volition, (1) to prohibit public, social, or private meetings; (2) to close commercial and industrial establishments; (3) to suppress newspapers and magazines; (4) to make searches and seizures in public or private buildings; (5) to arrest and imprison citizens without accusation or warrant; (6) to send civil cases to military courts and try them there with closed

[1] "Journal of Civil and Criminal Law," St. Petersburg, April, 1879, pp. lxvi. and lxvii.

[2] Under the old régime, the legislative branch of the Government was the Council of the Empire, a body created by Imperial appointment. Theoretically, the Czar was the supreme lawmaker, and every legislative act had to have his sanction; but in practice the Council of the Empire framed the laws and the Czar approved and proclaimed them. The so-called "law" of reinforced and extraordinary defense was a personal command of the Czar, and was not submitted to the Council of the Empire. It was, therefore, a ukase, and not, properly speaking, a statute.

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doors; (7) to banish political suspects to the remotest parts of the Empire; and (8) to issue "imperative orders" (*obyazatelnikh postanovlenie*) which should have all the force of law and should cover cases not specifically provided for.

It would be hard to define or name any offense or act which might not be extra-legally dealt with under the sweeping provisions of this Imperial command; and it is not at all surprising that, with its aid and that of an obedient army, the officials of Alexander III. crushed or silenced not only the revolutionists but the liberals. Even after they had accomplished this, however, they were not willing to lay the new and "temporary" weapon aside. Year after year the law of reinforced defense was re-enacted, and when I had occasion to write about it, in the summer of 1893, it had been operative, in one part of the Empire or another, for a period of fourteen years. I ventured then to predict that it might last for a quarter of a century, and it has lasted even longer than that. Twenty-seven years have now passed since Alexander II. issued his "Ukase giving Governors-General certain special rights," and a large part of the Empire is still subject to the operation of an executive order which has largely superseded the criminal code, and which bears about the same relation to real law that a brigand's pistol bears to a volume of the Revised Statutes.

It may be thought that since the promulgation of the "freedom manifesto" in October, 1905, the bureaucratic officials have availed themselves less frequently of this law of reinforced defense, and have applied it less generally and rigorously in political cases; but the evidence is all to the contrary. The ink on the "freedom manifesto" was hardly dry before the bureaucrats and police in the provinces began to attack and disperse peaceful meetings and processions, organized by the rejoicing people in celebration of what was then believed to be the dawn of liberty. The proclamation of "the four freedoms" was published October 30, and on the very next day troops fired on the celebrating crowds in the streets of Poltava, Kishineff, and Odessa, killing or wounding more than a hundred people. At the same time "black companies" of roughs and hoodlums, organized or encouraged by the local officials, and in many cases armed with old police revolvers of a discarded Government pattern, attacked peaceable citizens—particularly Jews—in all parts of the Empire, and the disorder and conflict thus caused gave the Government a good excuse for "strong-handed" repression under the law of reinforced defense. In less than a month the "freedom manifesto" was an absolutely dead letter, resistance to the authorities became epidemic, and the bureaucracy returned to the terroristic methods of 1879 and 1880. Illegal violence on one side naturally led to illegal violence on the other. The Government whipped, shot, imprisoned, and exiled for acts which the "freedom manifesto" recognized as legal, while the people replied with strikes, mutinies, assassinations, incendiary fires, and the throwing of bombs.

Long before the meeting of the Duma the prisons of the Empire were full of untried political offenders, while thousands had been exiled by administrative process to the sub-Arctic provinces of European Russia or to Siberia. On the 8th of May last five hundred politicals had already been banished to the provinces of Vologda and Archangel, and ten days later the Department of Police reported that thirteen hundred and six more had been listed for deportation to the same region. On the 12th of May there were four hundred in the Siberian province of Tobolsk, and on the 15th of June five hundred and ninety-one were under police supervision in the sub-Arctic Siberian district of Narym. According to a report of the International Committee for the Relief of Political Exiles, four thousand passed through Moscow between the 20th of February and the 20th of May, and all were destined for Vologda, Archangel, or Siberia. Most of these exiles were peasants or factory operatives who had taken part in street demonstrations, mass-meetings, or strikes; but among them were many hundreds of school-teachers, lawyers, doctors, university professors, and representatives of the cultured class, who had been banished merely because the local authorities

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regarded them as "politically untrustworthy." G. K. Ulianoff, while in exile in Siberia, was elected a member of the Duma; Professor Gredeskul, of the University of Kharkoff, had a similar honor conferred upon him after he had been deported to Archangel; and Alexander Sipiagin, a school-teacher, was chosen as a representative of the people in the lower house after he had been administratively banished from Odessa. The class of professional men that seems to have suffered most from bureaucratic "proisvol" is that comprising surgeons and doctors. At a meeting of the Pirogoff Medical Society, held in Moscow late in May, a committee appointed to investigate the subject reported that the number of surgeons, physicians, and medical officers imprisoned, exiled, or otherwise punished by administrative process in the preceding seven months was six hundred and twenty-eight. Although this report was based on returns from fifty-four towns and a large number of provincial districts, it was by no means complete.

As most of the bureaucracy's victims were banished without accusation or trial, it is impossible to say whether they had done anything to deserve their fate or not—probably not, since, if there had been any evidence of criminality, they would have been tried by military courts. Administrative exile is resorted to only in cases where evidence of actual guilt is lacking. Hundreds of the banished men, particularly the peasants, were absolutely destitute; no adequate provision for their support had been made in the places to which they were sent; and their condition in Siberia was reported by the Siberian governors as "deplorable." Instead, however, of abrogating the law of reinforced defense, which made it possible for the bureaucracy to exile thousands of men without trial, the Czar, on the 28th of June, sent the Yaroslav prison inspector Gran to Siberia with orders to make an investigation and report—as if the reports of his governors that the exiles were "starving and suffering all possible privations" needed confirmation.

Such, in brief and incomplete form, is the record of bureaucratic activity, in the field of administrative exile, for five months of the present year. If the Czar's officials continue to banish politicals at the same rate for seven months more, they will bring the annual total up to about sixteen thousand. And all this after the publication of an Imperial manifesto guaranteeing "freedom of conscience, freedom of speech, freedom of association, freedom of public assembly, and real inviolability of personal rights"!

I will turn now, for a moment, to Russian fortresses and prisons, where the victims of an omnipotent bureaucracy are even more numerous than in Vologda, Archangel, and Siberia. According to reports received by the Minister of the Interior, the number of politicals in the prisons of European Russia on the 1st of May, 1906, was about eighteen thousand. I have written so much in time past about Russian prisons that I need not here go into details with regard to overcrowding, filth, bad air, bad food, and bad sanitary condition. Recent letters from political prisoners show that the state of things is little, if any, better than it was when I wrote "Russian Provincial Prisons" and "Prison Life of the Russian Revolutionists" in 1887; and if readers of The Outlook wish for detailed and official information on the subject, it is accessible. In an article on bureaucratic license, however, it is impossible not to call attention to a feature of Russian prison administration which is new—or which, at least, is far more prominent now than it was twenty years ago. I refer to the employment of murderous force. Under the old régime, prison guards seldom attacked political prisoners with deadly weapons, or used sabers and rifles in the enforcement of prison discipline; but illegality and cruelty have become so common in the upper circles of the bureaucracy that they are regarded as excusable, if not justifiable, in the circles to which belong prison wardens, prison turnkeys, and prison guards. Within the past six months there have been dozens of murderous assaults on unarmed politicals in Russian prisons, and in many cases deadly weapons have been used without necessity or reasonable excuse.

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On the 30th of April a political named Becker, standing at his cell window in the prison of Odessa, saw half a company of soldiers, under command of Lieutenant Tarassoff, passing through the prison courtyard, and shouted at them, "Down with the autocracy!" Lieutenant Tarassoff ordered his half company to fire a volley at the cell window, and Becker fell dead, pierced by six bullets. This, of course, was a clear case of willful murder.

Two days later a political in the Baku prison was shot dead by private Vizetski, of the 123d Benderski regiment, merely because he—the prisoner—had ignored the soldier's order to go away from the cell window. This was another case of deliberate murder.

On the same day (May 2) the guard of the Warsaw forwarding prison fired a volley at a group of politicals who were standing at an open window singing a revolutionary song. One of the prisoners was instantly killed and ten more were slightly or seriously wounded.

On the 1st of May a large number of politicals in the prison of Ekaterinoslav attempted to celebrate the holiday (Labor Day) by singing revolutionary songs and hanging improvised red flags out of their cell windows. The prison guard rushed into the cells, attacked the politicals with naked sabers, and wounded twenty-five of them. Four were so seriously hurt that they had to be carried to the prison hospital. In reply to an interpellation with regard to this case in the Duma on the 13th of July, Mr. Sollertinski, Vice-Minister of Justice, admitted that the facts were as above stated, but said, in extenuation of the murderous assault, that the prisoners had all recovered, and that the regrettable violence occurred during the temporary absence of the chief warden.[1]

One can easily understand that when men are torn away from their families without accusation or warrant, thrown into dirty, overcrowded prisons, where all the conditions of life are intolerable, and exposed to murderous violence at the hands of ignorant and brutal jailers, they are reduced, sooner or later, to a state of almost hopeless despair. There is for them no right of appeal, no writ of habeas corpus, no legal protection of any kind; and when their situation becomes absolutely desperate, their only resource is a "golodofka," or hunger-strike. Self-starvation to the point of death is a pitiful weapon; but prison officials dread it, nevertheless, because it often leads not only to an investigation, but to assassination or bomb-throwing on the part of the prisoners' relatives and friends. A hunger-strike can seldom be kept from the knowledge of the local population, and by the time the prisoners have starved themselves six or seven days, outside sympathy is so excited and public indignation so roused that the officials responsible for the "golodofka" are in great danger of assassination. The warden of the Ekaterinoslav prison was murdered soon after the attack on the politicals with sabers. Hunger-strikes are, to a great extent, an index to the treatment which political prisoners are receiving; and never, within my knowledge or recollection of Russia, have there been so many of them as within the past three months. I have a list of thirteen, in the prisons of Moscow, Odessa, Saratoff, Kazan, Kherson, Kishineff, Romni, Tagansk, Borzensk, Ribinsk, Orenburg, Ananef, and Pskoff; and in some of them there were as many as a hundred and fifty participants.

I have not space in an article of this kind to enumerate, much less describe, all the hunger-strikes and murderous assaults on prisoners that have come to the knowledge of the Russian public within the last six months; but the cases to which I have made reference are enough, perhaps, to show that in their dealings with political offenders prison officials and guards are quite as lawless as their bureaucratic superiors. If a citizen has no rights that a governor or chief of police is bound to respect, what rights can he have that turnkeys and soldiers may not violate? The whole system of Russian administration, from the Czar at the top to the lowest and most poorly paid turnkey or soldier at the bottom, is controlled, not by law, but by personal opinion or feeling. The Czar authorizes Ministers and Governors-Gen-

[1] Stenographic report of the proceedings of the Duma, "Strana," St. Petersburg, July 14, 1906.

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eral to act in public matters as they think best; the Ministers and Governors-General give their discretionary power, in turn, to ispravniks and chiefs of police; ispravniks and chiefs of police pass on immunity from legal restraint and responsibility to prison wardens, turnkeys, and soldiers; and then they all act on their own judgment, "without regard to the judicial authorities." The Czar in St. Petersburg issues a ukase virtually abolishing the whole penal code because he wants to do so and has power to do so, and the soldier in Baku shoots a political prisoner standing at a cell window for precisely the same reason. In dealing with a certain class of the population every Government employee exercises more or less autocratic power, and when asked by what right, he points up the line of bureaucrats standing on the official ladder between him and the Czar.

In Heaven, God; in Russia, a hydra-headed uniformed Koch!

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS AGAINST WAR

BY ERNST RICHARD

NO less a person than Immanuel Kant prophesied that war would end when all nations should have become republics or should have representative governments.

All nations of European civilization have reached the stage of representative government, but his prophecy has not come true. It is, therefore, of interest to see whether, by their constitutions, they show any willingness to prevent war or to make it at least more difficult.

An investigation shows that in a number of States the right to declare war without any limitation is vested in the monarch, which certainly cannot be considered as a proof that they intend any reform of ancient customs. The only limitation which is common to all nations that have a constitutional government can, therefore, be found in the right of the parliament to allow the necessary funds for the military and naval establishments and the means of carrying on war. These, however, cannot be refused after the king has made use of his constitutional right and has declared war. It may be said in general that all these limitations are intended rather to be manifestations of sovereignty than safeguards against war.

Of two constitutions which are looked upon as very liberal, the Belgian Constitution says (Art. 68): "The King shall command the land and naval forces, make treaties of peace, of alliance, of commerce; he shall give information in respect to the foregoing matters to the two houses as soon as the interest and safety of the State permit it, joining therewith the corresponding communication."

The other constitution referred to is that of Norway. This demands of the King of Norway that he advise with the Council of State in order to get information about the defensive strength of the country.

The list of States which do not give the executive power, be it monarch or president, the absolute right to declare war may be opened by Germany, whose Constitution does not give the Emperor this right except in case of an attack on boundaries or territories of the confederation or its coasts; otherwise, for declaration of war in the name of the Empire, the consent of the Federal Council is required. In this the Emperor as such has no vote; Prussia, of which he is King, has seventeen votes out of fifty-four.

In most States the power to declare war is vested in Congress, or by whatever name the corresponding bodies are called, giving in some instances the president the authority to do so only with the consent of the Congress; in others the initiative seems to rest entirely with the representatives of the people.

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In some cases an exception is made by a provision like that in the German constitution; as, for instance, in Colombia, where the President of the republic, as the chief executive officer for the nation, has the power to declare war with the consent of the Senate, or to do it without such consent whenever it shall be necessary to repel a foreign invasion.

The Colombia Constitution, as we see, may serve also as an illustration of those States that give the power of declaring war to one house of Congress only—as a rule, to the upper house.

Peculiar is the position of Mexico, where either of the houses without intervention of the other may declare war in view of the data which the executive may present; which leaves it to the President to choose the one which is sure to give him the majority.

In the most democratic of all constitutions, that of Switzerland, the President, who in reality is only the Chairman of the Council, has no word at all in the declaration of war or in the conclusion of peace, which is vested entirely in parliament. As far as the declaration of war is concerned, this agrees with our own Constitution, which, however, does not authorize anybody to conclude peace, except as we include this right by implication in the treaty power of President and Senate.

It will be easily seen that in all these constitutions the intention to make war difficult was not a leading point of view. There are, however, three constitutions which show a tendency against war in a more or less pronounced way. Of their number, Ecuador holds a position for itself. Here, where the executive has the power to declare war when previously decreed by Congress, the President is held responsible for provoking an unjust war, which seems a rather wise provision, considering that by actions of the President a situation can be created which leaves Congress no choice but to declare war.

The principle of arbitration finds recognition in the Constitution of Venezuela, which demands in Article 109 that in international treaties for commerce and friendship this clause be inserted, to wit: "All disagreements between the contracting parties must be decided without an appeal to war by the decisions of another Power or friendly Powers."

The most interesting document in this respect is the Constitution of Brazil. Article 88 of this Constitution says: "In no case, either directly or indirectly, alone or in alliance with another nation, shall the United States of Brazil be engaged in a war of conquest," while Article 48 gives the President of the Republic the right to declare war at once in case of foreign invasion or aggression. We find, however, that Article 34 says: "The National Congress shall have exclusive power to authorize the Government to declare war if there be no opportunity for arbitration, or in case of failure of this, and to make peace." The Constitution of Brazil at once shows the good faith of a nation in its assertions of peacefulness. Thus the Government of Brazil answered to the invitation extended to it to be represented at the Hague Conference that there was no necessity for it to do so, as Brazil had anticipated all that the Conference could do by making the appeal to arbitration a constitutional duty; and as to its army, it had decreased it already, and it had sold most of its war-ships.

No matter what we read about the internal conditions of the South American republics, as far as arbitration is concerned they have decidedly taken greater steps in civilization than other nations.

There are many who want the United States of America to take the lead in this question of the peaceful settlement of international disputes, in extending the empire of law, and in strengthening the appreciation of international justice. Could this be done in a more efficient way and shown in a plainer manner than by inserting a similar provision into our own Constitution?

I am fully aware that it is considered almost foolhardiness to propose an amendment to the American Constitution, although it may be a question of meeting conditions unheard of at the time of its adoption, or of progressive measures not thought of at that period.

This is the case with arbitration, which

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took the modest beginning of its modern development only with the Jay Treaty in 1794. To-day an amendment of that kind would mean a lasting gain to civilization, a blessing for all times to come, in view of the generations after generations that might benefit by it. Compared with this, even the number of years it may take to show our people of what advantage such an amendment would be seem of small amount. The continuous agitation connected with an effort to introduce such an amendment would bring the questions involved to the consciousness of every citizen and the principles of world pacification into every home.

If this fundamental principle of international civilization and organization, with its everlasting benefit, does not seem important enough to warrant the hardships of the campaign for a constitutional amendment, why not try a joint resolution of Congress, which, I am sure, will never be revoked?

I do not think that technical difficulties should prevent us from doing a great service to our country and to all humanity. Of course there are those who will doubt whether it is doing a service to our country to compel our Government and Congress to give to passion time to quiet down, to give justice a chance to be heard, before our Nation is rushed into the calamity of war.

It will be said that we cannot tie our hands in this manner. But does not every arbitration treaty as it is advocated involve such a tying of hands? Can we, by adopting the principle of arbitration, tie our hands so as to prevent justice? What harm can it do if time will be gained to consider the real causes of our dispute with another nation, or to find means of doing justice without the resort to arms?

I do not say that there may not be good reasons for keeping the plans and proceedings of our diplomacy secret, but I think a democratic nation has a right to see that it shall not be forced into war by its government without knowing that all efforts of peaceful settlement have been in vain, and this can be secured most effectively in the manner proposed. I think, at all events, that, with an ever more triumphant democracy, the days of the old-time diplomacy of secrecy, intrigue, and trickery are numbered.

The objections made by the opponents of compulsory arbitration at the Hague Tribunal seem to be no others than these two, to wit: that arbitration has not been tested sufficiently to be unreservedly adopted; and the claim that there are certain points of national honor which nobody would leave to a third party to decide. To argue about the advantages of arbitration is not necessary. I think we have proof of them. Over two hundred cases of successful arbitration are sufficient to show its practical ability and efficiency.

I do not understand why a nation should not submit questions of honor to a tribunal of its equals as well as an individual.

In this case the tribunal of arbitration would not be a court of justice but a court of honor.

In those countries where individual war in the shape of duel has survived to the present day, the first step to its limitation—and let us hope final abolishment—is a demand to have the question at issue submitted to a court of honor, either permanently established or appointed for the purpose, which has to decide whether the honor of the offended party is at stake and whether it is important enough to warrant a fight for life or death. Why should not nations do the same?

How much would not be gained if nations would submit similar cases to a court of honor, which certainly would be able in many instances to prevent the outbreak of a war, while wisdom and reason find time to raise their voices and wise leaders to make the nations bethink themselves!

Optimists believe that the next Hague Conference will make arbitration obligatory for all nations. It may be that this will be done to a certain extent. But if we remember the discussions of the first Conference and consider how many cases have been excepted from arbitration under the first convention, it is hardly to be hoped that the agitation for a far-reaching application of the arbitration principle has become superfluous.

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In proposing to make the appeal to arbitration an obligation under the highest law of our land, the writer knows that many agree with him as to the justice of this proposal. It is unreasonable to allow the fear to change the Constitution to stand in the way of what is reasonable and just—our Constitution must not be allowed to ossify, it must not become a fetish, but it must remain a vital force of the Nation, an object and a source of rejuvenation for all times to come.

A discussion of the advisability of such an amendment to the Constitution as is proposed in this article cannot help being of the greatest educational advantage. The principle of arbitration will be carefully scrutinized; all objections to it will be brought forth. But if these objections prove to be futile, action should be taken, and no prejudice or obstacle should prevent us from enforcing arbitration wherever we are parties to a dispute.

THE TRAINED NURSE IN TURKEY

BY CANDACE WHEELER

THE remarkable progress of medical and surgical science in Europe and America during the last twenty years seems to have found a new theater in the East. Races which for generations have been living a half-conscious life are being jostled into full consciousness by the object-lessons of science and humanity. The inevitable law of reproduction has preserved these races to the world, although each succeeding generation has violated every law of health and well-being. Many individuals are splendid and powerful specimens of physical manhood, but the proportion of lame, blind, and diseased is unreasonably large, and their wretchedness is totally unrecognized by the glittering crowd of rulers and governors whose splendor attracts the world of travel. It must be confessed that the diseased and wretched accept their lot of suffering with a resignation which seems very near content; there is apparently no effort at mitigation either on their own part or that of their kindred. Indeed, it is a question whether the unmistakable appeal of their miserable prominence is not considered a sufficient exchange for health. *Kismet* may mean more than submission; it may even include a sort of pathetic self-gratulation.

All the same, the American or English traveler who is a temporary dweller in beautiful Constantinople is harrowed by the constant spectacle of physical suffering which in other countries is shielded by hospital seclusion and mitigated by medical and surgical science. In the face of such conditions it seems a question whether it is worth while for people to continue to exist who willingly endure such misery.

The superb fighting activities of the Turks, as the world knows them, are devoted to the extermination of visible foes, whether of their own or alien races, while they are perfectly unconscious of those fatal enemies which attack their families, and are in fact nurtured in their most intimate surroundings. Such enemies, deadly as they are, are peacefully met, sheltered under the wide mantle of fate, and borne stoically and uncomplainingly, as a part of life. That there can be any other than destructive warfare is practically an unknown thought in the race-mind; much less that the most universal and pervading warfare of the world to-day is with unseen foes and against influences which are far the most destructive enemies of man.

In Turkey, as every tourist knows, these malignant influences are so potent as almost to materialize themselves. One seems to see blindness in actual form doing its destructive work upon babies lying untended in the sun, the delicate little eye-sockets solidly black with flies which the baby hands cannot drive from their lodgment. The last previous resting-place of these pests was perhaps upon some reeking carrion, and the

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poison of it is inoculated by thousands of minute insect lances into the living eyes of babies.

No political power can be brought to bear upon such enemies as are harbored by ignorance, superstition, and blind waiting for the final stroke of fate; but something above all political and material force—the drift of scientific knowledge and human beneficence—has been turned in this direction, and is materializing into a Hospital and Training-School in that great and enticing city which is the very stronghold of domestic ignorance.

Native missionaries, in the cap and apron which constitute the special uniform of the trained nurse—Turkish, Greek, and Armenian girls, armed with certificates of graduation from the Constantinople School for Trained Nurses—will take up this new form of missionary labor.

There are hundreds of these girls—many of them educated in the schools maintained by American missions—who are anxiously waiting to enter the field. Mentally and physically they compare wonderfully well with American and English women who choose the same vocation. Some of them, indeed, show traits of character which would be remarkable anywhere. A few years in the mission school, and daily contact during those years with habits of orderly and hygienic life, have brought many of them to long for the training which will enable them to help their own people. They can go alike into hovel and harem carrying with them the decrees of science and the laws of health. They can teach the indolent mother of street babies the rewards of decent cleanliness and the penalties of flies and dirt, by object-lessons which appeal to the natural love of the natural mothers.

We must remember that such nurses, coming from the same sort of homes to which they are sent for ministry, understanding all the circumstances of life in them and undismayed by their vileness, looking at them in fact as natural conditions, will be in turn understood by the people to whom they minister. They bring lotions and bandages with kindred hands, and their new ways and thoughts and teachings are imbibed by these neglected babes of the human race as naturally as mother's milk. The trained native nurse introduces not only ideas of cleanliness and decency, but of natural justice and fairness in the relation of women to men, of mutual happiness and mutual service in family life, and in the end these are worth more to her patients than even amelioration of physical suffering. That native nurses will be effective missionaries for this cause there can be small doubt. They are themselves so joyful over their own opportunities and the changed circumstances of their lives that they accept with enthusiasm the chance of helping their countrywomen. Up to this time there has been but one Training-School for Nurses in Turkey—that established by Dr. Carrington at Marsovan in 1900, in connection with the Anatolia College Hospital. Two classes have graduated from this school, and these, with the foreign nurses attached to the few foreign hospitals established by the American Board of Foreign Missions and by independent or individual effort, are lost to sight in a population of over twenty millions.

The going out of one's own house or family to care for others is a new thought in the Oriental mind, but the daughters of small traders, merchants, agriculturists, and followers of the various hereditary industries of the East have eagerly accepted the education of mission schools, and where these schools are, as at Marsovan, connected with college and hospital work, the training to practical work was a natural sequence. Yet the ingrained contempt of the Oriental mind for all labor that might be considered menial seemed an insurmountable obstacle to the adoption of a profession which included such effort. In this land of traditions and ideals there is a nice distinction between the kinds of help that can be rendered without loss of individual dignity. Personal service of any description, the care or tendance of other than their own bodies or those of their children, or the habitual performance of paid or even voluntary service, cannot be endured. A Turkish lady may give food or a cup of coffee to a patient, but she may not

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and will not cleanse the cup in which it has been offered.

It was an Armenian girl of family and position—a pupil of the school, and afterwards a kindly visitor and reader to the sick—who was first able to see the beauty and nobility of all service to the unfortunate. The enlightenment came to her as she watched the devoted ministry of the foreign nurses, and she felt in the presence of it that ardor of human love and beneficence which comes to us all in moments of elevation. She longed to give herself to the healing of the world.

After three years of unflinching and faithful effort she graduated, without perhaps realizing, as did her teachers and associates, that she had opened a door through which an endless stream of blessing was to flow upon the sick, the lame, the blind, the most unfortunate of her race. Nothing is truer than that in every beautiful impulse expressed in action the seed of world-wide results is sown. Truly it may be said of this pioneer among native nurses what was written of Florence Nightingale:

> "A Lady with a lamp shall stand
> In the great history of the land
> A noble type of good,
> Heroic womanhood."

As a rule, the Turks are slow to accept new methods and customs, but the immense relief which comes with the advent of the trained nurse and the miracles of healing which her care performs appeal to them like a direct blessing from Allah.

The aptitude is not common among the races of mankind to seize, as the Japanese have done, the fruit of the research of the whole world and make it at once their own; neither is it the nature or habit of Eastern peoples to precipitate themselves into other countries by emigration, and so to attain knowledge by assimilation; they are a waiting race, and in the long waiting of centuries mere bodily instinct has enveloped the soul of them until they have become largely physical—contented and patient like animals, but like them turbulent and unreasonable. But the light of the soul is immortal, and although it may be covered with the dust of centuries, the breath of sympathy and knowledge may at any time increase the spark into a flame of illumination in which they will arise to do their part among the nations of earth. Those of our own people who live among the people of Turkey and are brought into daily contact with them are unexpectedly impressed by their traits of character, and are almost unanimously of opinion that, once begun, their progress will be rapid. This belief will account for much of the enthusiasm which animates the mission workers in Turkey; and in its light the plan of establishing a great school for nurses in Constantinople, enlisting native talent and ability upon its own ground, seems almost an inspiration. One of the plans of the new institution is to establish the system of district nursing which has proved to be so efficient in London, where every quarter of the great city is brought under organized help. Such a system is calculated to reach all of the poorer classes, whether sick or well, and to prevent much of the disease which owes its origin to ignorance and dirt. The secluded class of women during sickness or suffering are also easily accessible to the trained nurse; indeed, her ministry is eagerly sought by them, so that—to quote the words of one who knows—"the opening for private nursing is practically unlimited." Considering, then, the needs of the rich and the needs of the poor, the world of domestic life in Turkey lies open to the efforts of that human love which is called the missionary spirit.

Following this great opportunity should be a corresponding effort—an effort unlimited by any religious organization, however beneficent. It should be rather an institution founded and supported by fortunate world-lovers—people to whom "much has been given," not only in the way of possessions, but in opportunities of travel, of world-seeing and world-comparing. This is already true of the effort as far as it has gone, and it should continue to be the joy and gift of the rich. The way has been made and the opening prepared by a young American physician, Dr. Thomas Spees Carrington, to whose effort the establishment of the first Turkish Training-School for Nurses—that at Marsovan, a town six

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hundred miles east of Constantinople—is due. An exceptional experience of seven years' practice on his own part and seven years of teaching and intimate study of the people on the part of Mrs. Carrington has made of them ideal workers in this field.

The Board of Directors are men whose names stand for much, and whose judgment and knowledge of men fitted for special work are undeniable; so that those who are tempted to invest in this special blessing need be neither delayed by doubt nor dismayed by trouble.

The American Hospital and Training-School for Nurses at Constantinople, Turkey, was incorporated under the laws of the State of New York in 1905. Its office is at No. 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York City.

The Board of Directors is composed as follows: William Ives Washburn; Henry O. Dwight, LL.D.; Charles H. Richards, D.D.; George Washburn, D.D., LL.D.; Dunham Wheeler; John Beverly Robinson; Charles C. Creegan, D.D.; Edwin H. Baker; Ernest Hamlin Abbott; James S. H. Umsted; Omar H. Carrington; Burton James Lee, M.D.

The purpose of this institution is to furnish free medical and surgical treatment to the Turkish poor and to supply the Empire with trained nurses. The organization is wholly independent, and Messrs. Brown Brothers & Co., bankers, No. 59 Wall Street, New York, are the fiscal agents.

In order that there may be no delay while the new quarters are under construction, the hospital will be started at once in a large rented house near the American College for Girls in Scutari, a district of Constantinople. The plans for the new building provide that it shall cost, when completed, $100,000, and shall have a capacity of two hundred beds. The building is to be on the pavilion plan. There will be accommodations for sixty-four patients and a full training class.

When the new buildings are finished, there will be a modern training-school for nurses with accommodations for not less than fifty students, one American trained nurse as superintendent, and two American trained nurses as her assistants; and it is expected that the students of the training-school will be able to take courses of lectures on scientific subjects with the higher classes of the College for Girls. It is contemplated to establish as soon as possible a system of district nursing, modeled after the organizations so successfully carried on in London.

A BRIEF FOR THE PHILISTINE

BY TUDOR JENKS

GOLIATH, save in his untoward fate, is a prototype of all his kind. Armed in full panoply against sword and spear, he was struck by a weapon he never counted upon.

The modern Philistine comes armed against utilitarian arguments, and full against his front are hurled assertions that he fails upon sentimental and æsthetic grounds. The ancient warrior fell, but the modern contestant has the advantage of never knowing that he has been hit.

The æsthete puts candles upon the dinner-table, and, shading them with rose-colored silk, basks in satisfaction. The Philistine has his old gas chandelier lighted, or snaps on his electricity, and, in the intervals between gas bills and grumbling about electric meters, is happy that he has rid himself of snuffers and tray, and never needs to renew his source of light. So it is with the heating apparatus: one chooses the open wood fire, the other the hot-air furnace.

Now that the Art School master is abroad, and at home, the wood-fire party have been for some time boasting themselves as those who lay aside their armor rather than as those who take it up. The coach, the candle and lamp, old furniture, the hearth fire, the cravat, leather binding for books, and books of hand-made paper, have in turn come down from Time's

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attic, and (excepting the coach, slain in its renaissance by the infant automobile, which overcame its rival as Hercules in his cradle strangled the serpents) are knocking at the door of the "reception-room."

The Philistine is inclined to scoff at these Ancient and Honorables. He refuses the adjective "good" to the old times. Possibly he may be allowed to assert that the world does move, for even his opponent does not deny the motion. They differ only when the Philistine says that the world progresses, for the other says that it degenerates and declines.

From time to time both point to the Roman Empire; the one to show how complexity inevitably leads to corruption and ruin, the other to illustrate how barbarous were even the most enlightened ancients in the absence of "Modern Improvements."

And yet there is much to be said upon the side of the poor Philistine, even putting aside the argument from utility. Upon grounds of sentiment and considerations of æstheticism, there is a word or two that may be urged for the steam-heater, for instance, or the ice-water pitcher—whence and whither has the latter fled? Surely it once existed?

Perhaps an attack upon the wood fire is as promising as any. The wood fire is a fraud and a delusion, artistically and sentimentally. The ideal wood fire is a poem. The real wood fire is a subpœna, and requires as much attention as an ailing child. It is never in order more than ten minutes together. A log falls—and the whole family circle squabbles for the tongs. To secure the tongs and to replace the log is but to have your understudy spring forward in full confidence that she alone really comprehends the nature of wood fires. It smokes where smoking is strictly forbidden, and acrid tears roll down the cheeks that should softly glow. There is no draft, and without a draft the wood fire never volunteers to go. If it does go, it discharges red-hot coals at will, shooting recklessly at valuable rugs, light draperies, and all that is inflammable. It requires a whole commissary department to keep it in logs. The question whether to leave the ashes or to remove them began just without the gates of Eden—Eve insisting upon a clean hearth, and the old Adam explaining that the fire wouldn't burn if fallen embers were not kept alight—and the end is not yet. The chimney always needs sweeping and never is swept, though it sometimes burns out without much damage or cost to the insurance companies.

Now, all these things shorten life, and diminish the world's store of innocent amusement. It is folly to prate of the beauty of the mounting flames that are as infrequent as the wavering auroras. Admitting that a free draught is healthful, what shall we say of fumes of wood smoke, filling the lungs and weakening the eyes? "A thing of beauty is a joy forever," and a wood fire is not a joy forever, and therefore must resign its claim to be beautiful.

Turn now to the placid and unexcitable steam-heater. It is a canon of good taste that the well-dressed woman is she of whom the gown is unnoticed. By the same test, how does the modest radiator overcome the garish obtrusiveness of the rival wood fire! How willingly, even passively, it lends itself to the arts of the decorator! No color, no pattern, ever comes amiss. When in Rome it does as the Romans do. I have seen one even draped with a Japanese bamboo curtain; imagine the wood fire under similar conditions! The wood fire is a savage—an untamed barbarian. It must rule or it will ruin.

The gentle radiator requires but a hint and it responds at once; it throws its whole soul into creating a genial warmth, or it effaces itself when required. It is but a young thing, too, and barely at the threshold of its full evolution. Its rival came down a celestial, with Prometheus—one of the Immortals, but debased by a thief's transplanting. Upon Olympus, and ruled by the gods, the wood fire may have been under discipline; but for merely mortal control the weakened virus of fire is strong enough. The radiator is safe even for a lady to drive, and children may play with it.

Which, then, of these two conduces to

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reflection, to spiritual, æsthetic life? As well ask whether one should prefer a modern servant of the worst type or a trained mute of the East, to whom a gesture is sufficient direction or mandate!

But even if in winter the open fire is an ornamental adjunct to a system of heating, yet there is the present season—the long summer—there is also the autumn and the spring with which to reckon. The sepulchral empty hearth, even when funereally decked with inappropriate flowers, is a skeleton at the feast, ever a gaping reminder of the wintry blasts.

The radiator, when off duty, becomes a narrow but strong table, only noticed when its services are offered to provide a place for a hot kettle, a sooty pan, or a wet gossamer cloak.

And for warming the feet; how much more graceful the attitude required by the steam radiator! Confidingly you trust your sole to its guidance, and, like a good husband, it comforts while it firmly supports.

ADMINISTRATION AT HOME AND ABROAD[1]

WHEN Professor Fairlie's study of National administration in the United States appeared last spring, we called attention to the fact that with it he had virtually broken new ground, and in a field that requires many husbandmen. In Europe, to be sure, problems of administration have long occupied the attention of keen intellects, but the case has been very different with respect to England and still more to the United States, where the subject has at most been treated in a fragmentary way in scattered monographs. This has perhaps been due chiefly to the idea that administrative law has no place in countries having the English legal system, and it is quite true that the rules of law which Continental writers call administrative include much having force in neither England nor the United States. At the same time, as Professor Goodnow clearly points out in his latest work, "The Principles of the Administrative Law of the United States," the scope of the Continental conception is much broader than seems to be generally believed, and comprises many matters which are and must be the subject of legal regulation in English-speaking countries. Administration, briefly, has to do with the functioning of government, and there is thus a line of demarcation between administrative and constitutional law which, to borrow a simile used by Professor Goodnow, is concerned primarily with the anatomy of government. It is significant, too, that in the present age the most important public problems pressing for solution relate principally to questions of administration. These, of course, in countries like England and the United States, are bound up with questions of constitutionality. But it is none the less certain that operation, not structure, is to-day the prime desideratum. The machinery has been assembled, erected, and set in motion; the need is to make sure that it will run smoothly and effectively, with no economic waste, and with the greatest possible profit to those who have created it—the people. This it is that makes the study of administration and of administrative law of such importance. By it structural defects may be discerned and the remedies indicated.

There is, therefore, not merely room but a real need for treatises such as Professor Fairlie's and Professor Goodnow's. The former will serve the student well as an introduction to the latter, and that again as affording a solid groundwork of knowledge for the more detailed studies which are certain to follow. In Professor Fairlie's work stress was laid on the organization of the administrative

[1] *The Principles of the Administrative Law of the United States.* By Frank J. Goodnow, LL.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3, net.
Colonial Administration. By Paul S. Reinsch. The Citizen's Library. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25, net.

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system of the United States from the National standpoint; divisions of activity were sharply outlined, underlying principles tersely stated, and corrective suggestions briefly proffered. In Professor Goodnow's, as may be gathered from its title, the emphais is on the principles, and the scope is broader, embracing, in addition to National administration, State, county, town, city, and village administration. Obviously, a volume of less than five hundred pages cannot cover the subject in all of its ramifications. But it may safely be said that Professor Goodnow, so far as concerns the United States proper, has left no essentials out of account, and that when the careful reader has arrived at the last page he will have gained a comprehensive idea of the manner in which government is carried on in this country, of the devices whereby the popular will is expressed and the popular needs served, and of the imperfections which prevent a complete realization of the will and the needs of the people. He will also have secured some useful information to assist him in forming judgments as to the steps to be taken to insure necessary reforms, and the pitfalls to be avoided.

From first to last, Professor Goodnow is careful to support his statements by citations from, or references to, court decisions and sound authorities; his language is never ambiguous, and his style is direct and forceful. The method followed is both comparative and historical. Theories and conditions obtaining in countries other than the United States are indicated, and the evolution of American institutions and institutional conceptions is traced concisely but adequately. The most serious defect in a work which is otherwise little exposed to criticism, and should win wide favor both among students and the general educated public, is the fact that no attempt is made to examine the application of administrative principles to the government of the Territories and dependencies of the United States. So far as concerns the dependencies, this is to some extent done in Professor Reinsch's exceedingly helpful little volume on "Colonial Administration," which may fairly be considered a sequel to the same author's "Colonial Government." In the latter the institutional framework of colonial governments was detailed. "Colonial Administration," on the other hand, deals with the various problems confronting such governments and the main lines of solution that have been attempted. It is, of course, largely expository, but it is also constructive to a high degree, and every one engaged in colonial administration might wisely keep it near at hand for ready reference. In his attitude toward the general question of expansion and toward the policies that should be adopted with relation to alien and dependent peoples (the work scarcely touches upon the administration of self-governing colonies), Professor Reinsch shows himself free, on the one hand, from false sentimentalism, and, on the other, from the exaggerated Occidentalism that has prevented too many from apprehending colonial problems in their true bearings. The point of view to which he consistently adheres is that of altruistic development, having for object the economic as well as moral and intellectual uplift of the subject races. His survey embraces education, finance, currency and banking, commerce, communication, agricultural and industrial development, the land and labor questions, and the question of defense and police; and thus leaves hardly a colonial problem untouched. Every chapter is compact and readable, and is rendered the more valuable by concrete illustrations from the practice and experiences of colonial governments the world over. It is impossible to follow the argument in detail, but it is possible to narrate briefly the conclusions reached by Professor Reinsch.

Of these the most salient is his conviction that the colonial legislator should not have too ambitious a programme. There should be no hasty attempt to revolutionize the backward races by bestowing upon them "the blessings of a civilization which they cannot understand, and which may be a deadly poison in the form in which they are offered." Rather, "to work in alliance with the universal forces of social evolution, to battle against the exploitative tendencies which would carry us back into another age of barbarism more cruel and more

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difficult to overcome than any former one, and to give to the more primitive societies a secure economic foundation for future progress and development—these should constitute the elements of a sound colonial policy." Always the keynote is: Begin with economic welfare, teach the native to adapt himself to his environment, give him sanitation, leave his social organization undisturbed so far as possible, construct for him railways and other means of communication, afford him a sound currency, place no obstacles in the way of his commercial, agricultural, and industrial progress—and, in time, the rest will follow, higher ideals come, and a higher civilization be attained. "If we set our face firmly against slavery and exhaustive exploitation in all its forms," predicts Professor Reinsch, "we may rely upon the working out of the colonial problem with the same confidence that we place in the mechanism of a complicated electrical motor. But," he continues, "in order to obtain such results, patience is most needful. Civilization cannot be transferred as a whole. . . . One principle seems clear enough—namely, that our moral civilization cannot be propagated by laws, perhaps not even by exhortation, but that the only true civilizing influence is example freely followed. Thus the primitive Germans voluntarily chose their Roman neighbors as models for their action, and Japan to-day is of her free will imitating our institutions and methods because she recognizes in them a certain superiority. By setting up models of action and conduct which will be gladly and spontaneously imitated by other races, the Western nations may indeed hope to exert a powerful civilizing influence."

This is a sound philosophy, if only colonial administrators will keep clearly before them the truth that the utilization of economic forces should have for aim an end higher than mere economic welfare. It is here that the missionary and school-teacher find their sphere of influence widen. Legislator, administrator, missionary, and teacher—there is work for all in the far distant dependencies. And the more harmoniously and intelligently all co-operate, with an eye single to the progress of those for whom they labor, the sooner will the now vexatious problems be happily and honorably solved.

FOREIGN INFLUENCES ON JAPAN AND CHINA[1]

JAPAN and China have been influenced chiefly by two classes of foreigners—merchants and missionaries; and the most vivid pages of recent books on Japan and China concern those classes.

In Japan there is a natural feeling of elation and self-confidence which may or may not bring about good results. Mr. Millard, by his articles in "Scribner's," and now in his instructive volume, would lead us to feel that the Japanese have been overrated; that they have received too much sympathy, especially from America; that they need now, not sympathy, but cold scrutiny; that they are an increasing commercial menace to our trade with Asia; that in the administration of Manchuria they will not accomplish what might have been done by Russia; finally, that in China they have been behind the American boycott, and were the secret instigators to the opposition manifested towards the American construction of the Canton-Hankau railway. The real Far Eastern question, then, according to Mr. Millard, is one of Japanese supremacy, as inimical not only to American trade, but to that of

[1] *The New Far East.* By Thomas F. Millard. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50.
The Re-Shaping of the Far East. By B. L. Putnam-Weale. In 2 vols. The Macmillan Company, New York. $6.
The Problem of Asia. By Captain Alfred T. Mahan. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $2.
China and the Chinese. By Herbert Allen Giles. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.
Glimpses of China. By Edward S. Morse. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50, net.
The Relation of Diplomacy to Foreign Missions. By John W. Foster. The University Press of Sewanee, Tenn. 50c.

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the whole world. When the "open door" is spoken of, "it is to laugh," in this critic's opinion, for who can believe Japanese promises as to Manchuria, where her supremacy is now assured? Nevertheless, Mr. Millard's attention may be called to the fact that, whenever a town, such as Mukden, has been open to civilian merchants at all, it has been opened on an equal footing to the whole world.

As an example of the discrimination in Japan against foreign traders in general and against American traders in particular, Mr. Millard instances the recent case of the American Tobacco Company. When Japan decided to make a government monopoly of tobacco, this company was compelled to sell out, at a fair actual price, it is true, but it lost a great potential trade, not only in Japan but all along the Asiatic shore, for which no recompense was made. Mr. Millard is also caustic in his references to Japanese commercial honor, although he admits that the Japanese have learned wisdom by experiences.

> It is clear that Japan has fundamental advantages in commerce with eastern Asia which can never be overcome by Western nations, such as proximity, and cheap and quick transportation to the market. But these are by no means decisive matters. My own opinion is that Japan will not be able to make material commercial headway upon the continent, in competition with some of the Western industrial nations, except by what may be correctly termed illegitimate means, exerted through political manipulation or military authority. . . . There are two possible checks upon a Japanese policy of political aggression and unfair commercial manipulation in eastern Asia. One is the opposition some of the Western powers may exert, and the other is inherent in China herself. In the beginning the former must be depended upon for tangible results; but in the long run the latter, should China be permitted to pursue a normal internal development, will be the decisive factor.

Mr. Millard's book is timely because Americans need to have their eyes wide open as to what is going on in the Far East, but his criticisms will seem to many unjustly prejudiced. His book is of value to the student not only of present but of past politics, for added to his interesting text are copies of the Russo-Japanese Peace Treaty, the Anglo-Japanese alliance, and the Japan-Korea agreement.

Mr. Putnam-Weale's text is supplemented by an even greater number of appendices, containing drafts of the Treaty of Shimonoseki, the Mikado's rescript withdrawing from Manchuria, and the reputed Cassini Convention between Russia and China, all of which date from 1895; the Russo-Manchurian railway agreement of 1896, the Kiaochau Convention, the Port Arthur and Hankau-Peking agreements of 1898, the Anglo-Russian agreement respecting spheres of influence in 1899, the treaty of offensive and defensive alliance between Great Britain and Japan in 1902, the Japanese-Korean agreement of 1904, etc. As Mr. Putnam-Weale says, the first eight of these documents show clearly enough how the pendulum swung against England in the period from 1895 to 1899; the present political situation in Japan and China stands out in contradistinction. But the commercial situation continues unsatisfactory. As to shipping, Mr. Putnam-Weale, while less caustic than Mr. Millard, warns the British especially that energy there must be displayed:

> It is absurd to say that competition with Japanese shipping will be impossible; it will be possible and tend to become more and more possible each year, since there are but six Englishmen on board every British ship engaged in the Far Eastern trade—the crew being Chinese—and since the scale of living and the scale of wages in Japan will soon have increased a hundred per cent. as a result of the war. . . . In twenty years' time Chinese trade will be twice as great as it is now; in fifty years it will be portentous. . . . A time of sharp competition is coming, and it would be well if capitalists, ship-owners, merchants, and speculators tried to understand the new conditions and to accommodate themselves to the new requirements. . . . The true opening of China must be effected at all costs as one of the greatest results of the war.

In this opening foreign agents who understand the language are a prime necessity. A strong appeal for students in Chinese is made by Mr. Putnam-Weale and also by Dr. Giles, Professor of Chinese at Columbia University, in the latter's excellent "China and the Chinese," a serious and valuable social study. The former writer, however, is as scathing regarding the carrying out of

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our traditional policy towards China as was Mr. Millard regarding Japanese policy towards us. Mr. Putnam-Weale also pays sarcastic compliments to the nations which have attempted to force their way into Chinese commerce, so long dominated by England. We fail to notice, however, any excess of indignation on his part regarding England's opium trade; perhaps it is because of his opinion that the Chinese laborer works hard enough to throw off the drug's effects.

Mr. Millard's reference to Port Arthur as the focal point of the policy of those who would dominate eastern Asia commercially is in line with the judgment of most critics. Eight years ago, taking advantage of Chinese weakness, Russia secured a lease of that splendid harbor and strong fortress, with the privilege of connecting it with the Trans-Siberian line by railway to Manchuria. As Captain Mahan says, upon the control of Port Arthur the functioning of a great railway will rest, and through it the prosperity of the country pioneering it will be promoted. Should this prosperity, however, be promoted at the expense of other countries? In the case of Port Arthur, the Japanese War has shown Russia that at least one nation protested against any such pioneering. The Port Arthur incident shows that, as long as China continues in a position of political instability, it will lie peculiarly open to foreign influences. Except Russia, the Powers which would influence the Empire must rely chiefly upon a sea-power, both as represented by maritime commerce and by sea-power in the military sense. In view of the possibility of a native attempt, by gradual encroachment or by instant violence, to exclude the Powers, many—notably Captain Mahan in "The Problem of Asia"—have drawn timely attention to the Yangtse Valley, for an influence established there would possess the advantages, first, of an interior position, and, second, of open and constant communication through the river to its base, the sea. "Seed sown here," reasonably prophesies Captain Mahan, "will yield a hundredfold as to thirtyfold elsewhere."

But the expansion of commerce is, as directed by merchants and transporters, of course, only one reason why foreign pressure should be felt in China, according to Captain Mahan, after preponderant political control there by any one external State or group of States has been prevented. Second, the "open door" should be insisted upon in a broader sense than that in which the phrase is commonly used; that is, the door should be open not only for commerce, but also for the entrance of American and European thought and of teachers in various branches, when they seek admission voluntarily and not as agents of a foreign government. And right here we would quote an excellent paragraph on educational and religious missions:

> Not only is the influence of the thinker superior in true value to the mere gain of commerce, but also there is actual danger to the European family of nations in case China should develop an organized strength whence has been excluded the corrective and elevating element of the higher ideals, which in Europe have made good their controlling influence over mere physical might. Rationally, from this point of view, there is much that is absurd in the outcry raised against missionary effort as a thing incompatible with peaceful development and progress. Christianity and Christian teaching are just as really factors in the mental and moral equipment of European civilization as any of the philosophical or scientific processes that have gone to build up the general result.

Christian thought and opinions may differ as to the character and degree of the influence of Christianity in China, but the fact of influence cannot be denied. From the purely political standpoint, affirms Captain Mahan, Christian thought and teaching have just the same right—no less, if no more—to admission into China as has any other form of European activity, commercial or intellectual. Nor would he have the fact of offense taken by certain classes of Chinamen a valid argument for exclusion.

> The building of a railway is not a distinctively Christian act, but it offends large numbers of Chinese, who are, nevertheless, compelled to acquiesce if their Government consent; whereas the consent of the Chinese Government to missionary effort will compel no Chinaman to listen to a Christian teacher. Every step forward in the march that has opened China to trade has been gained by pressure; the most important have been the result of actual war. Commerce has won its way by violence, actual or feared;

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thought, both secular and Christian, asks only freedom of speech.

Christian thought has existed in China since the fourteenth century. There was actually a Roman Catholic Archbishop of Peking who died in the Chinese capital in 1330, says Dr. Giles. The early Christians found China nominally under the sway of Taoism, Confucianism, and Buddhism. Dr. Giles's treatment of the first of these religious forms is interesting, not so much because of his description of Lao-Tzû and his philosophy as because of a comparison between Taoism and Buddhism, showing their borrowings from each other. Buddhism seems moribund, if we may believe Professor Morse in his "Glimpses of China." He saw no evidence of devotion in the people, or of the earnest, prayerful attitude which he had noted in Japan. "I could not help contrasting the vigorous and healthy condition of Buddhism in Japan, the fresh-looking temples, though hundreds of years old, so carefully kept and repaired, the surroundings so cleanly swept and in perfect condition, with the utter destitution and decay of the same monuments in China. . . . In the inner court [of a Buddhist temple] were twenty or more priests chanting. . . . Such dreary, dirty-looking priests, . . . a striking contrast to the same class in Japan." In one of the Chinese cemeteries Mr. Morse could find no trace of a tree, flower, green leaf, or even a path. "The shocking state of the place, in view of the fact that the Chinese are supposed to worship their ancestors, was in marked contrast to the care and devotion shown by the Japanese or by our own people in their burial-places."

Protestant missionaries appeared in China at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1830 the first American missionaries arrived. Protestant missionary work does not always compare favorably with Roman Catholic, says Professor Morse, one reason being that Protestant women have rashly gone into places fit only for men. Again, says he, the Roman Catholic is careful not to interfere with Chinese superstitions, only so far as these interfere with his own; his incense-burning, bead-counting, and picturesque ritual does not differ widely from that of the Buddhist. Still again, says Professor Morse, the intelligent Chinaman, perplexed at the great variety of creeds presented by Protestants, realizes that he, if a Catholic convert, might compare notes with a Catholic convert in Tibet or Cochin-China, and there would be no divergence of doctrines in the smallest particular. Mr. Putnam-Weale calls attention, however, to a greater distinction—the Roman Catholic missions in China are rich, powerful, and homogeneous; they possess a definite policy, which aims rather at the mere conversion of the Chinese masses than at the gradual enlightenment and final reform of the whole Empire. On the other hand, the thirteen hundred Protestant missionaries scattered all over China, including many denominations, realize that they must preach "with a school-book in one hand and a bar of soap in the other, and should have medicine-bottles and instruments in their pockets." Such work is necessary to clear away the immense masses of semi-decaying matter now lying on the ground in China. "The dry-rot of ages calls for drastic measures, suggested by common sense. . . . The American missions, possessing few traditions and unhampered by conventionalities, have already recognized the truth of this, and are working on a system which would have been deemed revolutionary twenty years ago." That China will ever be Christian, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a vain dream, says Mr. Putnam-Weale; but that Protestant missions, if they awaken to a proper sense of their responsibilities, can exert an enormous influence and saturate the whole country with Anglo-Saxon ideals, is quite certain. Protestant missionaries are, therefore—just as the Chinese think, although in a slightly different sense—a valuable political asset, but that asset must be careful to know its exact value and to understand its peculiar limitation.

In the carrying out of the foregoing the diplomatic and consular representatives of the United States and the American missionaries must necessarily have more or less close relations with one another. In his "Relation of Diplomacy to Foreign Missions" ex-Secretary Foster bears

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testimony to the fact that, with a few unimportant exceptions, our representatives in the Orient have properly interpreted the spirit of their Government, and in their relations with the Powers to which they have been accredited have shown that they were the representatives of a Christian nation. Mr. Foster shows that the precision with which our treaties have been drawn with the Asiatic Governments, the interest which our Government has at all times shown in the work of the missionaries, and the care it has taken in securing the free exercise of their labors and in marking out their duties and those of their converts to the local authorities, constitute a certain oversight by our diplomatic representatives in those countries. This would be so, says the distinguished writer, if the only bond for bringing them together were the practice of extraterritoriality—that exemption under certain conditions of foreigners in China and other Oriental countries from the laws and jurisdiction of those countries. But in making new treaties extraterritorial rights are being gradually withdrawn. That this will first affect the missionaries in inland places is quite certain, prophesies Mr. Putnam-Weale—that is, missionaries will probably be the first to be placed under the jurisdiction and protection of the Chinese Government, and they would do well to accustom themselves to this new idea.

When that day comes, unless they have powerful vested interests in every prefecture of the eighteen provinces, and have succeeded by their scholastic and medical work in gaining the sympathy of great masses of the population, they will find themselves in a parlous position. They have now possibly twenty-five to thirty years of grace in which to set their houses in order and to prepare for the sharp competition which the reinvigorated portion of the Far East will most certainly offer them.

Thus in the development of the Asiatic Pacific slope by Americans, commercially, educationally, socially, religiously, the testimony of such well-informed authorities as ex-Secretary Foster, Captain Mahan, Professors Giles and Morse, and Mr. Millard should be carefully considered by the student of present-day civilization.

Comment on Current Books

Audrey Craven This was Miss Sinclair's first novel, and is now given the honor of an "author's edition." Like the two other books by Miss Sinclair republished since the deserved success of "The Divine Fire," it is little more than a sketch in fiction as compared with that remarkable novel, but, although the earliest, it is the strongest of these three early stories. While "Audrey Craven" is not well rounded out, and lacks breadth of treatment and firm grasp on the reader's attention, it shows very clearly the intellectual quality and the subtle knowledge of character that are applied in "The Divine Fire" to a more complex play of motive and action, and to a far more striking situation. (Audrey Craven. By May Sinclair. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.50.)

A Benedick in Arcady Though hardly the equal of its predecessor, "A Bachelor in Arcady," there are to be found both grace and charm in these chapters, which occupy a middle ground between the story and the essay. At times one feels that what is meant to be idyllic becomes lackadaisical, and that a little more positive spirit and humor would have added to the value of the book. (A Benedick in Arcady. By Halliwell Sutcliffe. Second Edition. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Constitutional Studies Mr. James O. Pierce, lecturer on constitutional law in the University of Minnesota, has brought together in a handy little volume a number of his addresses, essays, and reviews on problems in the constitutional history of this and other countries, the great majority relating to questions arising in or bequeathed by the earlier periods of the history of the United States. Such, for example, are his papers on "The Spirit of '76," "The United States a Nation from the Declaration of Independence," "Vital Principles of the Declaration of Independence," "The Beginnings of American Institutions," "The Republican Colonies," "Religious Liberty in America," and "Some Legacies of the Ordinance of 1787." We do not always agree with the views expressed, and occasionally we feel that where the views are

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sound (as they usually are) Mr. Pierce has failed to support them by the strongest arguments. But, on the whole, there is remarkably little to criticise in his pages, which convey in small compass a large amount of information useful alike to the student of constitutional history and the general reader anxious to improve his acquaintance with the circumstances attending the political, social, intellectual, and religious growth of the United States. (Studies in Constitutional History. By James O. Pierce. The H. W. Wilson Company, Minneapolis. $1.50, net.)

From Bull Run to Chancellorsville

In addition to its value as material for full knowledge of military history of the Civil War, this book has also considerable interest in its personal narrative of camp and battle incidents. Here and there flashes of humor enliven the story. The regiment whose adventures are followed in this book is the Sixteenth New York Infantry. (From Bull Run to Chancellorsville. By Newton Martin Curtis, LL.D. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2, net.)

George Douglas

The Duke of Argyle is an interesting figure in English history—political, scientific, and literary—but he is not so eminent in any of these departments that the interest in his life will seem to most American readers to justify two volumes of six hundred pages each. In them is a good deal of matter that is commonplace and uninteresting and might better have been omitted. The sketches of foreign travel contain very little that might not be found in any commonplace letter of the ordinary traveler. Nevertheless, to the biographical library these volumes will be a valuable addition. There are a number of graphic portraitures of prominent public characters, there are interesting pictures of the semi-feudal relations between a great landlord and his tenants, there are interesting accounts of some important events in modern English history as witnessed by one who was behind the scenes, and there is that kind of light thrown upon scientific and political discussion which comes from contemporary correspondence. The two volumes will be interesting as a biography to the reader who is versed in the art of judicious skipping, and valuable as a contribution to the history of the nineteenth century. To the student who knows how to sift, there is a good index which materially enhances the value of the work to the student of history. (George Douglas, Eighth Duke of Argyle. In 2 vols. Edited by the Dowager Duchess of Argyle. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $10, net.)

A History of Freethought

The title of Mr. Robertson's book indicates its spirit. It assumes that no thought is free if it sustains the claims of Christianity to be a revealed religion. This point of view is that of one who disbelieves not only in the authority but in the traditions of the Church, not only in the infallibility but in the spiritual value of the Bible as in any sense a revelation. It might be termed the history of unbelief. It is comprehensive, beginning with primitive free thought and tracing the history down to the middle of the nineteenth century. But it is not marked by any notable philosophical insight or dramatic power. Nor is its judgment of men or systems in harmony with our judgment. In style it is encyclopædic. It might almost be called the annals of free thought. We distrust an interpreter of skepticism who apparently regards the late Colonel Ingersoll as one of its great American prophets. (A Short History of Freethought. By John M. Robertson. Second Edition, Rewritten and Greatly Enlarged. In 2 vols. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $6, net.)

The House of Cobwebs

Mr. Gissing's ability has undoubtedly received wider recognition since his death than during his life. To us this collection of short stories is more valuable for the excellent and readable introductory survey of Gissing's work, written by Mr. Thomas Seccombe, than for the stories themselves, although some of the latter are wrought out with care and have literary form. The tales, however, are hardly entertaining enough or vigorous enough to hold the attention of the average novel reader. On the other hand, the sketch of Gissing's life and work is decidedly an interesting chapter of recent English literary history. Gissing began to write when Dickens's influence was all-pervading, and while it did not seem to affect his own style and method, he became a Dickens enthusiast, and has written perhaps the most discriminating book about Dickens's style and method to be found anywhere. The singular development of Gissing's own genius from the rather heavy, if well thought out, stories of English middle-class life to what Mr. Seccombe well calls "that genial masterpiece of softened autobiography 'The Private Papers of Henry Ryecroft'" is decidedly well worth having. (The House of Cobwebs and Other Stories. By George Gissing. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1.50.)

Mediæval Memoirs

Ethel Wedgwood's new version of the memoirs of John, Lord of Joinville and hereditary Seneschal of Champagne, should be the means of

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making a wider circle acquainted with the more salient facts in the character of Louis IX., commonly called Saint Louis, and one of the best rulers France ever knew. The memoirs are divided into two parts, the first of which deals with the sayings and customs of King Louis, and the second with his two calamitous crusades to wrest the Holy Land from the grasp of the infidel. Few knew the King better, and none yielded him more reverent admiration, than did Joinville. Yet his memoirs are not the vapid outpourings of mediæval adulation; they tell of facts, are alive with action, and scintillate with sketches and anecdotes of other notables of that bygone age. "For a while," the translator truly says, "the man of the thirteenth century joins hand with the man of the twentieth, and they stand side by side in the midst of that vast twilight of the unrecorded ages, compared with whose depths a thousand years are but as yesterday." For the benefit of the historical student we would add that the present translation is based mainly on Michel's edition of the fourteenth-century manuscript known as Supplement 2,016, Bibliothèque Royale, and that the original has been subjected to editorial revision, consisting chiefly in the elimination of repetitions and passages offensive to modern taste. (The Memoirs of the Lord of Joinville. English Version by Ethel Wedgwood. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3.)

The Political History of England The latest addition to the Oxford "Political History of England," edited by the Rev. Dr. William Hunt and Reginald L. Poole, deals with the extremely important period 1801–37, and, unlike the other volumes of this co-operative history, is a product of dual authorship. In common with its predecessors, it is of imposing dimensions, and within its covers will be found a vast amount of detailed and well-arranged information respecting the intellectual, social, and economic as well as the political history of the years traversed. But it is pre-eminently a work for the student rather than the reader, and it must be added that considerable caution is needed in its perusal, so partisan at times is the point of view. Startling examples of this are the assurance that George III. "must ever stand high, if not highest, in the gallery of our kings," and the suggestion that the brilliant American victories in the naval engagements of the War of 1812 were largely due to the superior strength of the American vessels and the presence on their decks of deserters from British war-ships. Similarly, an almost vindictive spirit is manifested in the discussion of Irish questions generally and of Catholic emancipation in particular, and in the treatment of the agitation for electoral reform and of other matters of internal policy. It would be unfair, however, to pronounce the work valueless on this account. On the contrary, it is in many respects not simply a substantial but a richly illuminating contribution to our knowledge of the events and conditions of the period. Especially is this true of the Napoleonic campaigning, military and political, the ramifications of which are thoroughly explored and clearly propounded; and of the social ills and unrest that racked England with the return of peace. Partisan though they be, the authors can on most occasions grasp and make plain the true interrelation of events. So that while there is room, and too ample, for severe criticism, their narrative of the happenings of the nearly twoscore years between the Peace of Amiens and the death of William IV. contains not a little to excite admiration and reward scrutiny. (The Political History of England. Vol. XI., 1801-1837. By the Hon. George C. Brodrick and J. K. Fotheringham. Longmans, Green & Co. $2.60, net.)

Progress in Christian Thought The progress of liberal Christian thought was intensified by the meeting last year at Geneva of the Third International Congress of Liberal and Progressive Christianity. Those who took part in that conference, as well as the far wider audience of readers in many lands, will value the report of the proceedings and of the addresses now published under the supervision of Professor Édouard Montet, President of the Congress. (Actes du III^me^ Congrès International du Christianisme Libéral et Progressif, Genève, 1905. Publiés par les Soins du Professeur Édouard Montet. Georg & Cie., Genève.)

The Tin Diskers An amusing although entirely trivial short story about an American girl who has curious adventures in England, growing out of the recent newspaper sensation known as "treasure-hunting." (The Tin Diskers. By Lloyd Osbourne. Henry Altemus Company, New York.)

The Watermead Affair A humorous tale in which automobile adventure plays the leading part. Really, this is a short story put in book form for summer reading. (The Watermead Affair. By Robert Barr. Henry Altemus Company, Philadelphia.)

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Letters to The Outlook

THE COMING AGE

In his Harvard baccalaureate sermon, published in The Outlook for July 14, Dr. Abbott justly emphasizes Fraternalism as the spirit of the Coming Age. Is not this the social ideal given to the world by Christ in his teachings concerning the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man? If not, in what respect does it differ? If so, why is Dr. Abbott silent on that point?

Can we not accomplish more toward bringing about a harmonious relationship between the Church and the masses if we make it clear just how Christ's ideals for the individual and society are being unfolded and realized in modern social progress?

The world is all too eager to enjoy the blessings of Christianity without accepting its responsibilities, and it behooves every follower of Christ to see to it that honor is given where it is due—openly as well as tacitly. J. S.

Sierraville, California.

[The writer of this letter seems to have overlooked the statement of the preacher in the baccalaureate sermon that fraternalism is "an order, the ideal of which Christ sets before his disciples in the saying reported in Matthew xxiii. 8, 10: 'One is your master, even Christ; and all ye are brethren.' "—THE EDITORS.]

I have generally been an admirer of Dr. Abbott's broad and sane views on religious subjects; but there was one remark of his in a paper in The Outlook just after last Easter, under the heading "Christ is Risen," that has been a nightmare in my memory ever since, and I have not cared to read anything by Dr. Abbott since. The statement was: "Christ came *and abolished sin and suffering*." It has occurred to me to write you and ask some kind of an explanation for such a monstrous error. To any one who looks abroad and observes the mountains of sin and suffering still looming up on all sides, and has had a maximum of suffering himself, such an assertion is—may I say it?—disgusting! X.

Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

[If you will refer to The Outlook of April 14, you will find that you have misquoted the editorial. The words, "Christ came and abolished sin and suffering," are not contained in it. You may perhaps think that this idea is contained in it, but, in fact, the paragraph to which you refer must be taken in its entirety, and the statement in that paragraph, "He who banished sin and pain," is interpreted by the words that follow: "He who walked with men along the road of life and shared their life, walking also with them into the valley of the shadow of death, and who emerged again into the light unharmed and serene." He banished sin and pain by showing his followers how to vanquish sin and rise superior to pain. He who so interpreted death as the gateway to immortality that his disciples could meet it with the triumphant challenge, "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" he who so interpreted sorrow as the great educator of the spirit and developer of the character that his disciples could find in their sorrow an added inspiration to joy, and in the midst of their tears could chant, "We glory in tribulations also," may truly be said by those whose faith in him has made them sharers in his victory over sin and pain and care and sorrow, to have banished them from the experience of his followers. In truth, he has done more than this; he has converted these enemies of man into man's friends, and enabled those who believe in him and receive from him the gift of his life to be more than conquerors through him who has loved them and given himself for them.—THE EDITORS.]

EDUCATION AND RELIGION

In my letter which appeared in The Outlook of July 21 I asked whether Anglicans and Catholics had not as much right to be taught at public expense the religion they approved of as Nonconformists had to be taught the religion they approved of. You say the question is based on the fallacy of using "religion" in two different senses. I wish to assure you and your readers that I asked the question in all sincerity, as I despise the "smart" trick of trying to gain an argument by juggling with words. I thank you for your comments, which have taught me several things about the situation that I did not know before. If there are facts to justify the fears of the Nonconformists that they cannot always safely take advantage of the conscience clause of the law, those responsible for the facts are certainly in the wrong.

1. You say, "Unless Anglicans or Catholics can demonstrate their right to have their peculiar doctrines taught at public expense, it certainly does not violate any right of theirs to limit the religious teaching in public schools to the religion, pure and simple,

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which they are supposed to hold in common with Christians of every name." This seems a fair statement of the position taken by the Nonconformists, who evidently assume that there is such a thing as non-sectarian religious teaching, which is, or ought to be, acceptable to all denominations. Now, even those who believe most firmly in the non-sectarian character of Mr. Birrell's "simple Biblical teaching" will hardly deny that any given individual has as much right to reject that kind of religious teaching as he has to reject any other kind; so that "non-sectarians" have no more right than Baptists, Catholics, or Methodists to have everything their own way in public school legislation.

2. It is, however, impossible to devise a system that will be "non-sectarian" to all denominations. For instance, several doctrines which would doubtless appear on your list as "peculiar doctrines" are regarded by Catholics as among the most important articles of their religion. It follows that Catholics could not conscientiously accept so-called non-sectarian instruction, even if its only fault were the negative one of ignoring those doctrines, and thus teaching, by implication, that they are unimportant. It is still more objectionable when its advocates assert, as a positive principle, their own "peculiar" doctrine that the tenets which differentiate the various religious creeds are of little or no use except for that purpose. Many ardent "non-sectarians" insist more emphatically on this "peculiar" doctrine than on the doctrines held in common by different denominations.

3. If instead of "non-sectarian" we say "simple Biblical" teaching, we are met by the fact that there is not in the English language any version of the Bible on which all Christians agree. If there were such a version, could it be taught without being tinged with the teacher's religious belief? A. B.

Providence, Rhode Island.

[1. The first point made by our correspondent is disposed of by the fact that the Education Bill just passed by the House of Commons releases parents who conscientiously object to the religious lesson from obligation to send their children to school until it is concluded.

2. As to the second point, our correspondent is mistaken. The position taken by the State is this: Doctrines peculiar to part of the community are not to be taught at the expense of all. This proposition in the name of justice carries no slur upon the excluded teaching as "unimportant." On the contrary, the bill provides for such teaching where four-fifths of the parents vote to have it. "Non-sectarian" teaching means the teaching of what is held in common by all sects, such as the Ten Commandments, the Beatitudes, the Lord's Prayer, and much else.

3. Our correspondent seems to imply that Catholics would object to the use in schools of the versions of the Bible preferred by Protestants. We assure him that, in a community where Catholics are in the majority, we, as Protestants, should consent to the use of the version preferred by Catholics. Of course the satisfactory working of any regulation depends on the reasonableness and good faith of those who are put in charge.—THE EDITORS.]

RELIGION AND THE STATE UNIVERSITIES

I have read with great interest and pleasure the article by Dean Hodges on "Religious Life in American Colleges." The increased interest in Bible study, increased attention to chapel services, the spread of the Student Volunteer Mission movement, the enlargement of membership and expansion of work of the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, and the origination of religious organizations with broader bases than older associations, are causes of rejoicing to every one interested in the religious welfare of our young people.

But I am surprised at the statement in the article that "the State universities have neither chaplain nor chapel." This is true of some, but by no means of all.

The University of Kansas, for instance, has a daily chapel service and a monthly Sunday afternoon vesper service, arranged and conducted directly by the University authorities, not by the student religious organizations. Both services are voluntary, yet, with about thirteen hundred and fifty students on the ground at one time and many of them not attending lectures immediately before or after chapel hour, with no dormitories, but students living all over town, there is an average attendance at chapel of about five hundred, with a packed house (eleven hundred or more) on Friday. The same hall is well filled at the vesper services. Professional as well as college students attend all the services.

At daily chapel service the Chancellor (President) of the University always conducts a devotional service and then makes a few remarks on University life or conduct, or introduces a member of the Faculty or a stranger to make a short address. There is a special effort made to have a distinguished stranger Friday morning, who is often a minister, often a well-known or prominent public

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man. It is worthy of note that the latter give as much moral and religious advice to the students as the former.

Dean Hodges speaks of "an increased attention on the part of the authorities [of colleges] to the details of the chapel service." I think it is true that this increased attention began in the State universities, unless they were anticipated by Harvard. For the spur to increased attention has been voluntary attendance, which is the rule in State universities. Nineteen years ago the faculty of the University of Kansas, led by a Harvard man, started a movement to make chapel services more interesting and valuable, to have them conducted by men who would make careful preparation for them and strive to give the students who attended something that would make them feel that they had been repaid for attending. Attendance began at once to increase, and has been constantly increasing up to the present time with the continuance of effort on the part of Chancellor and Faculty.

Last May the University authorities arranged and conducted for the benefit of the students and Faculty and people of the State a Bible Institute lasting for four days, during which time the Rev. Dr. Frank K. Sanders gave a series of lectures on the Growth of the Old and New Testaments and the Growth of the Religious Ideas of the Old Testament, and led conferences on Sunday-school work and the way to get at the heart of Scripture, speaking ten times during the four days. This Bible Institute was so successful that we expect to make it an annual affair.

The work of the Christian Associations in our University is encouraged and assisted by the Faculty and Regents, and the Associations are constantly growing in membership and usefulness. The Student Volunteer Movement long ago entered the University of Kansas, and we have to-day a number of volunteers among us. There has lately also been organized a Philosophical and Religious Union, for the stimulation of religious thought rather than practice, though it proposes to enter that field also when it can do so without becoming a rival of the older religious organizations.

Two denominations, Christian and Presbyterian, have established houses in Lawrence, with settled ministers as head workers for religious instruction and pastoral care of all who may in any way come under their influence. The Christian Church is now enlarging its house in order to meet increased demands. The Congregationalists are planning soon to provide a pastor for students of their denomination.

In consideration of all these facts, it seems to me desirable that the readers of The Outlook should have some information that seems not to have reached Dean Hodges.

A. M. WILCOX,
Professor of Greek, University of Kansas.
Lawrence, Kansas.

IMMIGRATION AND THE SOUTH

Referring to your comments, on pages 778–9 of your issue of August 4, on "The South and Immigration," I can certify to the correctness of your statement that "the South is looking for immigrants only among nations and classes which it deems desirable and suitable for its own development." As an illustration, traffic officers of Southwestern roads are now in Europe arranging for steamer service to convey desirable immigrants from France, Italy, and Germany to Galveston, there to be distributed throughout Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma. And this coming fall and winter will witness a great rush of Middle West farmers (from Illinois, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri) to take possession of the low-priced "plains" lands of the Panhandle of Texas, only just now discovered to be a "hard wheat" country. The immense cattle pastures are being turned into farms, producing every crop that a Northern farmer can raise at home—and more. It is a "new" country, but the soil is good, the rainfall is ample, and the climate conditions perfect.

In all this great section of Texas (as big as New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island put together) there are not enough "colored folk" to fill a small meeting-house. The Northern farmers who settle there will require farm hands, and desirable immigrants from the continent of Europe will be welcomed. The State of Texas is an empire by itself. If it were populated as densely as England, its farms would supply one hundred and eighty millions of people within its borders.

GEORGE H. HEAFFORD.
Chicago, Illinois.

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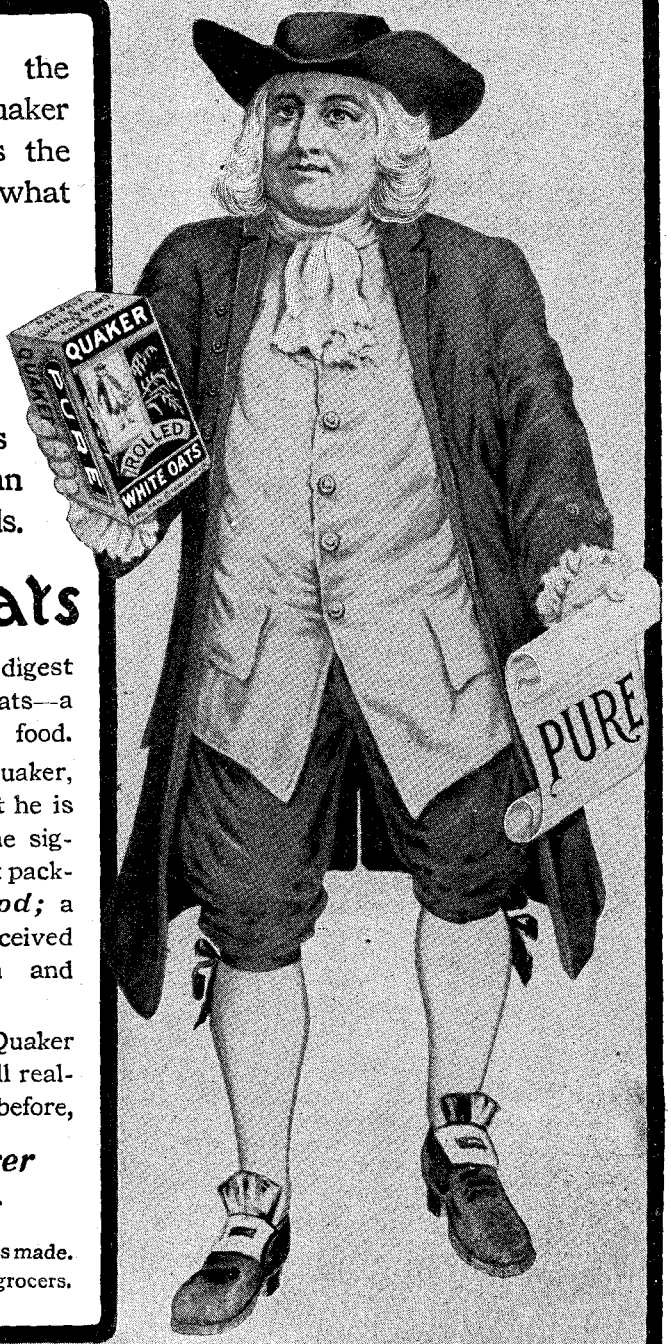

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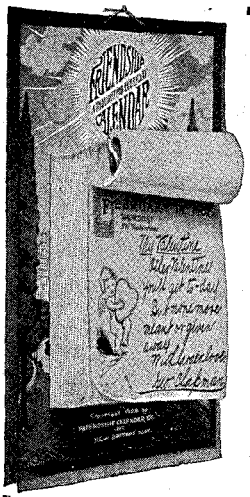

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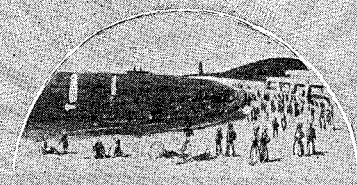

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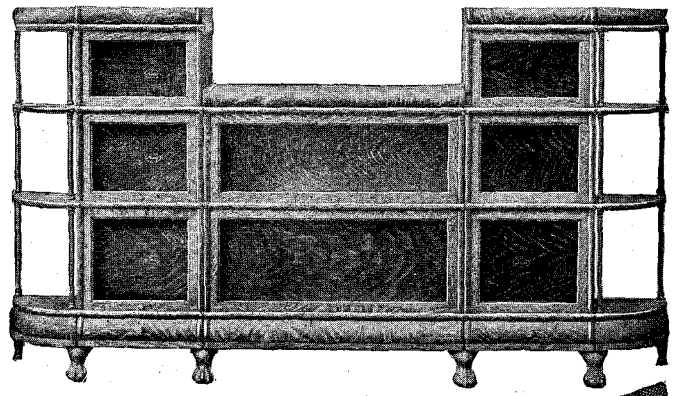

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